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ART. I.—CORPORATE RE-UNION IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

‘A FINE rare show arrives from Rome, and it is all a present for the Queen, and the news of it reaches London, and the King is impatient to see it; and the Queen is lying in, and Mr. Panzani brings all the fine things to the Queen’s bed-chamber; and all the ladies of quality crowd in to see them; and the King with all his nobles hastens to the Queen’s palace; and the boxes are opened, and the pieces are viewed one by one; and Mr. Conn comes in (though still without a red hat) to satisfy the Queen’s curiosity, and Mr. Conn brings more fine pictures . . . and sees the King and the Queen of France; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of the Queen of England (for how could he omit it), and the Queen begs a red hat for Mr. Conn, and Mr. Conn must first do some signal service to the Church; and the King talks about Mr. Conn’s red hat; and the Queen gives Mr. Panzani a fine diamond ring; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of all the ministers; and he pays his respects to all the ladies of the Court; and the ladies send their compliments to the Pope, and they all beg Mr. Panzani’s blessing. It was the end of the year 1636.’

This Sevigné-like description was written in 1794, by the Rev. Charles Plowden in his ‘Remarks on a Book entitled *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*.’ Panzani had been about two

years in England, with a secret mission, to report to Cardinal Barberini the condition of the English Catholics, the condition of the Court, and the prospects regarding an ultimate reunion of the Anglican Church with Rome. He was to pave the way for an openly accredited envoy to the Queen, was to conciliate the ministers, disarm the Puritans, and do what he could for the Catholics, still smarting under the penal laws.

Executions, it is true, had become less frequent; but the royal coffers were still replenished by the fines imposed on Catholics for their pertinacity in assembling to hear Mass by stealth. If a priest were caught, he was thrown into prison, tried, and punished with death. In dealing with the laity, Charles I. was never in favour of enforcing the extreme rigour of the law, but he was so often in want of money, that he found it useful to be very severe in the matter of fines.

Panzani's mission to England falls about midway between the domestic storms which had troubled the early days of the King's marriage with Henrietta Maria, and the great social upheaving, which finally cost the most shifty of monarchs his throne and his life. The Queen had ceased to resent the expulsion of her French favourites, had consented at last to learn the English language, and tolerate the English people. She had thrown herself heart and soul into her husband's interests; and, since the death of Buckingham, was in possession of his entire confidence. If later on, any cloud arose over their mutual relationship, it was the King's half expressed suspicion that she thought little of his powers of governing, and that however much she loved him, she did not admire his policy, or trust his royal word as thoroughly as he did himself. This is evident from one or two affectionate but querulous letters which he wrote to her when he was in the hands of the Parliamentarians. Of the Court, as well as of the private life of the King and Queen, Panzani could report but favourably. The Catholics were to be helped by the Queen's influence, and as to the reunion with Rome, he thought he had some reason to be sanguine. A letter of Panzani's to Cardinal Barberini, of which the following is a translation, is to be found among the Roman transcripts made by the Rev. Joseph

Stevenson and Mr. Bliss, and deposited in the Public Record Office. He thus writes,—June, $\frac{1}{2}$ 1635:—

‘According to your Eminence’s instructions, I have had a long talk with Father Philip (an English Capuchin and the Queen’s confessor) regarding the reconciliation of this kingdom with Rome, and the means of bringing it about. He told me that there are unmistakeable signs of a desire for such a reconciliation, not only in the King but among the clergy and laity as well, and the question is mooted almost daily. It is well, however, to be slow in drawing inferences, because, those who are most in favour of a reunion, do not venture to manifest their desire, but rather dissimulate it, under the appearance of a contrary way of thinking, on account of the severity of the laws against Catholics. This same fear actuates the King also, he being of a timid nature; hence the great misfortune of not being able to count on his prudence and judgment, seeing how changeable and uncertain he and his advisers are. Moreover, if by ill-luck, the present rumours of war, oblige the King to arm himself, we may expect some persecution of the Catholics, for money being required, before he can go to war, it will be necessary to assemble Parliament; and the Lower House, composed mainly of Puritans, will grant no supplies, unless the King makes some show of cruelty towards Catholics. For the same reason, all the Bishops and Ministers of moderate views, and favourable to a reunion, begin to be harsh and intolerant, when the time approaches for the meeting of Parliament, and in their sermons, do nothing but inveigh against the Pope; solely from fear of losing their lives or their places. Father Philip says there is no need to be alarmed at the difficulties we may encounter; but that we should be determined to overcome them, and that after God, the envoys may greatly facilitate the business, if they study with all their might how to make themselves agreeable to the King and the State.

‘He who comes here should be all things to all men, in order to win all, and should take everything he can in good part, and find excuses for the King and his officers, if sometimes they do not grant the Catholics all the favours they ask. He should throw the blame on the pursuivants and the informers,

and should adroitly petition for redress. He should keep Windebank (Secretary of State), considered by the Puritans to be "Popishly affected," and others, well informed of all that passes in Rome, and should manage to keep up communication with the papal legates, in order to have news, and at the same time to make himself agreeable to them, for they like above all things to receive marks of confidence. He must be careful, however, in publishing the facts he thus learns, to give no offence to any of the crowned heads, nor bring our religion into bad odour. The Envoy should distribute some gifts, and in fine, use every means to make himself beloved. He ought to be about thirty-five years old, and to have attained a certain solidity, rarely met with before that age. He should also be noble and rich, and of a good presence, furnished with all qualities proper to a gentleman, and above all, his life should be exemplary, without affectation or hypocrisy. . . . On the arrival of such an agent in London, speaking French well, which language is understood by the whole Court, he should first of all contrive to please the Queen, who, being young, delights in perfumes and fine clothes, and likes people to be lively and merry. His next object should be to ingratiate himself with the Court ladies and others; as much is done here by the influence of women; but he should on no account allow familiarity with the Queen and other ladies, to degenerate into lightness or worse; for that would involve the ruin of the whole undertaking. It is customary to say here: if a man's life is good, his religion must be a good one; but the English are shocked at every little thing. The King is extremely modest, and the Queen such, that Father Philip told me her conscience had never lost its baptismal innocence.

'Having gained the good opinion of the Queen and her ladies, the agent may aspire to greater things. The Court is very accessible to bribes; it is therefore quite possible to purchase its good-will; and to this end, it will be well to send the Queen jewels of some value, ostensibly as presents to her, but in reality, that she may distribute them among those Ministers, from whom the greatest help may be expected. The Envoy should not make very valuable presents himself, but

only through the Queen, lest he be suspected of ulterior views, or cause danger to the recipients of them.

‘When the Ministers have been won over, the Queen, instructed by the Envoy how great a reputation she may acquire by the conversion of this kingdom, must try to persuade the King to abolish pursuivants and informers. This, he may not be able to effect immediately, being powerless to repeal parliamentary laws, but he may be able to procure that the pursuivants and informers shall do nothing, without an express and written order from the Privy Council, and only then in a manner conformable to the instructions of the same. In this way, Catholics would have nothing more to fear, because as soon as the Council resolved to proceed against any individual, the Queen would bring her influence to bear on any one of its members, already on her side, and the threatened Catholic would be helped, either to fly, or to elude the officials.

‘This point gained, an almost tacit liberty of conscience would follow; the Catholics would take courage, and the moderate Protestants would no longer fear to declare themselves, openly, their protectors. Then would be the time to treat with the King, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the concession of religious liberty, as far as possible. This, once conceded, Father Philip believes, that in less than three years, the whole country would become Catholic. Parliament might then safely be assembled to repeal the laws against Catholics, and re-union with the Holy See would soon follow.

‘But how to obtain liberty of conscience, it is not easy to say at present; neither does it yet concern us, not having arrived so far.

‘This is all that Father Philip said, and whatever else he may tell me, I will write to your Eminence, having nothing further to add now, except that the Envoy should be guided in all things by Father Philip, who has a great reputation for prudence and is respected by the whole Court.’

Father Philip’s ingenious structure soon proved to be only a house of cards. He understood the Queen, and was not far wrong in his estimation of Charles, but he was mistaken in

thinking the King's party in earnest about Catholicism, and was as wide of the mark in grasping the Archbishop's bent, as any Puritan in the realm.

Laud was in some respects wiser than Buckingham had been; he was content to govern the country through the King, throwing what power he could into the hands of the prelates. All the great offices of state were filled by Churchmen. Far from dreaming of any submission to the Pope, he aimed at being a species of independent Pope on his own account. Both he and Juxon, the Lord Treasurer, refused to see Panzani.

Laud's greatest passion was ambition, if anything in a nature so contracted, can be said to assume the proportions of a full-blown passion. He had a marvellous capacity for small things, and all that came under his ken, he knew in its minutest details. He was a believer in dreams, and owned to be greatly troubled by them. 'Thursday, I came to London,' he once wrote in his private diary, 'the night following, I dreamed that I was reconciled to the Church of Rome. This troubled me much, and I wondered exceedingly how it should happen. Nor was I aggrieved with myself (not only by reason of the errors of that Church, but also) upon account of the scandal which from that my fall would be cast upon many eminent and learned men in the Church of England. So being troubled at my dream, I said with myself that I would go immediately, and confessing my fault, would beg pardon of the Church of England. Going with this resolution, a certain priest met me, and would have stopped me. But moved with indignation, I went on my way. And while I wearied myself with these troublesome thoughts, I awoke. Herein, I felt such strong impressions that I could scarce believe it to be a dream.'

The Archbishop united a becoming gravity with a lamentable want of all sense of humour. His temper was hasty, but also vindictive, and he never forgot an injury, to which fact, the notorious Puritan, William Prynne was well able to testify. Laud first attracted the enmity of this man and his friends, by his attempts to restore something like ceremonial in the churches.

When he began his reform, the places of worship were nothing but buildings where discourses and diatribes against Popery were to be heard luxuriously. 'There wants nothing but beds to hear the word of God on,' said Bishop Corbet.

The notion of a priesthood had died out of people's minds. They looked upon their clergy, as preachers merely—the cure of souls was an obsolete word.

'Laud had the communion tables removed from the middle of the churches, into the place formerly occupied by the altar, railed in, and distinguished by altar-like adornments. Finally it became customary to designate them by the ancient name of altar, while the officiating minister resumed the name of priest. The people murmured, and thought they saw indications of a return to Rome.'*

Some protested that all this superabundant care for externals was eating the life out of Protestantism; the bugbear of others was the appeal to the Fathers of the Church, rather than to the Protestant divines of the Continent.†

The sequel proved that a very real source of danger lay among Laud's own friends. He could not restrain the lengths they would go, in following the track which he himself had laid open. Burning questions were discussed in the pulpits. Thus Panzani, writing to Cardinal Barberini, March 14th 1636, says: 'Last Sunday, one of the bishops preached before the King, on the necessity of Sacramental Confession, saying that the Church has never been in a good state, wherever it was not practised.' Panzani goes on to say, that reconciliation with Rome, was an event anticipated by all, and that many people thought the clergy refrained from marrying, in order that they might still hold their parishes in case of a reunion. 'This,' he adds, 'is what I fear, but whether it is true or not, God only knows, who sees the hearts of men.' 'Another sermon was preached lately before the King and the Court,' he writes in the same letter, 'touching confession, and the preacher said its origin could be traced to the Gospel better

* *Calendar of State Papers, 1635-1636, Domestic.*

† Gardiner, *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*

than that of any other doctrine; wherefore, he exhorted his hearers to practise it.

'All the Court are now talking of this sermon, and the King himself at supper afterwards, spoke highly of the practice of confession, saying that one ought to mention all the circumstances of a sin.

Some one who was present said he could not think it right to take away another person's reputation by naming him, if he were concerned in a sin. 'The King at once replied that it was not permitted to name accomplices, and turning to Father Philip, who is always present at supper, he asked him if he were not right. Father Philip answered that he was. The Earl of Carlisle, a Puritan, who was also there, assured Father Philip that he agreed with us in everything, except that the Pope had power to depose kings. "We do not believe that either," replied Father Philip, "we only say that the Pope may do it in extraordinary cases, such as heresy, for instance." The Earl of Carlisle replied: "You are not all of the same opinion, because I know that some among you maintain that he has."

'Here the subject dropped. A lady, conversing with Father Philip on the same occasion, said that if confession were to be practised, Protestant ministers ought to be like ours. "Why?" asked Father Philip. "Because," answered the lady, "if they have wives, no one will confess to them, for fear of their repeating to their wives, straight off, the sins confided to them."

In a former letter, Panzani had written: 'A preacher said lately that the Pope was the true Vicar of Christ, Successor of St. Peter, and Chief Patriarch, and he proceeded to enlarge upon Papal jurisdiction, when a tumult arose among the congregation, and afterwards the preacher was censured.'

And again: 'On the first day, and also the first Sunday in Lent, the Bishop of London, preaching before the King, took for his subject the preparation for Our Lord's Passion, and said, that it was not only needful to mortify the spirit, but also the flesh, teaching which is opposed to the doctrine of the greater number of Protestants.'

Thus the Puritans had some ground for murmuring, and it was not altogether unnatural, that they and Catholics also should imagine that the Church of England had set its face Romewards. These were not doctrines such as Ridley, Latimer and Hooper would own, nor would they recognize the churches in which such language was held.

Greater still would have been the wrath of such men as Prynne, Bastwick or Burton, had they known that the Bishop of Gloucester had applied to Panzani for permission to have a Catholic priest in his house secretly, to say Mass daily for him; and that he was strongly in favour of reunion.

William Prynne, barrister-at-law by profession, by reputation a vituperative pamphleteer, was always ready to denounce, cavil and rail. The list of his philippics fills nearly a whole folio volume of the British Museum Library Catalogue. He had, what Wharton, more eloquently than politely describes as 'the eternal itch of scribbling.' One of his hobbies was the sin of Sabbath-breaking, to which he attributed the fresh outbreak of the Plague in 1636. Encouraged by his example, a whole mass of literature appeared on the observance of the Sabbath—not the modern Sunday, which was decried as an invention of Rome's, but of the old Jewish Sabbath, considered by the Puritans to have a far better claim to be observed.

Prynne had no perception of the relative value of things. Sabbath-breaking, Predestination, and the supreme wickedness of curls, or love-locks as they were then called, were of equal importance in his mind. Laud's innovations put him into a state of frenzy. He declared that the Church was 'now as full of ceremonies, as a dog was full of fleas.'

Giles Widdowes, entering the lists for the Archbishop, argued that 'men should take off their hats on entering a church, because it was the place of God's presence, the chiefest place of his honour amongst us, where His ambassadors deliver His embassy, where His priests sacrifice their own, and the militant Church's prayers and the Lord's Supper to reconcile us to God, offended with our daily sins.' '*Ergo*,' answered Prynne, 'the priests of the Church of England are sacrificing priests, and the Lord's Supper, a propitiatory sacrifice, sacrificed by those priests, for men's daily sins.'

Widdowes also wrote in defence of the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus; and considering, doubtless, that men should be fought with their own weapons, took a leaf out of Prynne's book, and called his pamphlet after 'the lawless, kneeless, schismatical Puritan.'

Prynne retorted in a prompt reply which he entitled 'Lame Giles his haltings.' Soon after, being cited to appear and defend himself for having used intemperate language, in a book against plays and players, he was sentenced to have his ears shorn off. Such copies of his books as were forthcoming were burnt by his side as he sat in the pillory. He was degraded, and prevented from pleading as a lawyer. He only wrote the more. The titles of his books are ingenious, and would ensure their sale at any time. As for their contents, odious as is the language he used, Prynne always hit the nail he intended, and was very good at a blow. In *Rome's Master-piece*, he declares that the Archbishop was a 'middle-man, between an absolute Papist, and a real Protestant, who will far sooner hug a Popish priest in his bosom than take a Puritan by the little finger.'

Prynne's fellow pamphleteers, Bastwick and Burton, were not far behind him in the violence of their invectives, although the lawyer must be admitted to bear the palm of coarse vituperation.

In John Bastwick's *Litany*, instead of 'from plague, pestilence and famine,' he prayed 'from bishops, priests and deacons, good Lord deliver us.' In 1637, Laud summoned the three men before the Star Chamber, to answer to a charge of libel. Bastwick's crime was for writing against the 'Pope of Canterbury.' They were all three found guilty, fined £5000 each, were condemned to lose their ears, and to be imprisoned for life. In addition to this, Prynne was to be branded on both cheeks, with the letters S. L., slanderous libeller. The Chief Justice Finch, ordered the scars left by his former punishment to be laid bare.

'I had thought,' said he, 'that Mr. Prynne had no ears, but methinks he hath ears.'

The executioner had only clipped off the outer rims three

years before, but he was now to suffer the utmost rigour of the sentence. Then, 'having burnt one cheek with a letter the wrong way, the hangman burnt that again, and presently a surgeon clapped on a plaster to take out the fire. The hangman hewed off Prynne's ears very scurvily, which put him to much pain, and after, he stood long in the pillory, before his head could be got out, but that was a chance.'*

Prynne seems to have borne this martyrdom with great coolness, for on his way back to prison, he composed a Latin distich on the letters S L which he interpreted *Stigmata Laudis*—the Scars of Laud.

Although the sentence on these men was imprisonment for life, Prynne and Burton entered London in triumph, three years later, and if revenge is sweet, Prynne was yet to swim in a sea of sweetness. When by a strange irony of fate, or in the due course of that just retribution, which we call a dispensation of Providence, he was hired to search the imprisoned Archbishop for papers, he carried off Laud's Diary.

Under the date August 14th, 1634, were these remarkable entries:—

'That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal.'

And two days later:—

'I had a serious offer made me to be a Cardinal. I was then from Court, but so soon as I came hither (Aug. 21) I acquainted His Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.'

If Panzani could have seen this strange record of the Archbishop's dreams, desires and impressions, he would perforce have ceased to look upon him as an important factor in his cherished scheme of corporate re-union. No doubt, in declining the Cardinalate, if indeed the offer were not a figment of his own brain, Laud would have had diplomacy enough, not to reveal his private sentiments. The importance

* Documents relating to Prynne. *Camden Papers.*

of the statement lies for us, entirely in the anti-Roman tendency which he expresses. For the Archbishop himself it was fatal; the entries serving as the text of one of the chief indictments against him, when he was brought to trial. Nothing he could plead made any impression on his accusers. To have refused the purple, ought to have vindicated him; but they maintained, that for the offer to have been made to him at all, he must have been friends with the Pope. Moreover had he not objected to the term 'Idol of Rome?' And had he not expressed doubt, if not denial, of the Pope's being Antichrist? These things were more than enough for fanatics, whose piety consisted chiefly in denunciations and impolite epithets. It was clear to them that the Archbishop had a 'damnable plot to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome.'

Presumably, Mr. Prynne's ears were for something in the overwhelming potency of this argument. Another, and no less important article of Laud's indictment, related to some pictures of the Life and Passion of Our Lord, which he had once had bound up in Bibles. He was so pleased with the result, that he ordered them to be called 'the Archbishop of Canterbury's Bibles.' The Puritans thought they saw in this, strong proof of the Archbishop's 'popish and idolatrous affection,' their knowledge of human nature being such, that they actually imagined, that on seeing an image or picture of a divine person, men would be forthwith moved to prostrate themselves in adoration of the material of which it was composed.

But we must return to the year 1636. Popular passion ran so high in those days, that the opinion of an unprejudiced contemporary, is therefore doubly valuable. Panzani, who although wrong in his inferences, was accurate as to facts, in writing to Cardinal Barberini describes the Archbishop and his works with great moderation. 'He is short in stature, aged about sixty, is unmarried, and is first in the privy council. His views are moderate, and he is not unfriendly to the Catholic religion. He has the King's interests thoroughly at heart; he studies to increase the revenue, and perhaps for this reason is preferred by the King to all his other advisers. He is ready

for any amount of work, and all ecclesiastical affairs receive his personal attention. He is reputed an Arminian, and in nearly all dogmas, approaches nearly to the Roman Church. With the King's permission, he has made innovations in the Scotch, as well as in the English churches, has erected altars and put sacred pictures in many places. He has the honour and glory of the clergy extremely at heart. Many think his aim is, to reconcile this Church with Rome; others hold quite opposite views, and both extremes have some show and reason, for on the one hand, one sees in him great ambition to imitate Catholic rites, and on the other, what looks almost like a positive hatred of Catholics and their religion. Sometimes he persecutes them, but this is interpreted by many to mean prudence, and a way of escape from the murmurs and quarrels of the Puritans.'

The Queen and Panzani were on excellent terms. Cardinal Barberini had sent Henrietta Maria some very costly presents, and she was anxious to show him a similar attention. Father Philip considered that English horses would form a most suitable gift, but the Queen told him to consult Panzani. 'If Her Majesty wants to send a really acceptable present to Rome, let her send the heart of the King,' said the Envoy, smiling.

Father Philip replied that this treasure she wished to keep entirely for her own.

'I make no doubt,' answered Panzani, 'that in sending the King's heart to Rome, the Queen would only possess it the more entirely, and without danger of rivalry from conflicting religious sects.'

Father Philip then told his royal penitent, that if it pleased the Father of Mercy, she should send this truly precious gift to Rome, and that his Eminence cared for no horses.

Meanwhile the Papal Court had fixed on Mr. Conn, as possessing the rare qualities described by Panzani, as necessary for the delicate position of Papal Envoy to the Catholic Queen of a non-Catholic country.

Panzani being an Italian, and possessing no language but his own, could only communicate with the Queen and the State Secretaries through an interpreter. He was moreover a

priest, and liable on that account, to cause irritation to those of the Court and nation who were not 'popishly inclined.'

Conn was a Scotchman; he had passed twenty-four years in Italy, had courtier-like manners and bearing, was a layman, although a canon of one of the great Roman basilicas, and as we have already seen, was a candidate for a red hat. With his brilliant exterior, great capacity, urbanity and zeal, it is not surprising to learn that he was declared to be a Jesuit, a generic term not only in those days, but down to our own times, for all those who laboured to restore the old Faith.

We find it asserted quite gravely, in the records of the reign of Charles I. that Jesuits were of three degrees, to be found among politicians, merchants, and the professed Fathers living in religious houses.

Conn had no sooner arrived in England, than the report spread that he was a disguised Jesuit, come to receive the King into the Catholic Church.

Charles, in terror of the Puritans, declared that it was a purely malicious invention; but he, none the less, continued to temporize, and the Court to regulate its conscience, according to his vacillating example. In a letter to the Cardinal, written soon after his arrival, Conn gives an account of a long conversation he has had with the King, in the course of which he says:—

'I remarked to His Majesty, that the other Powers of Christendom were extremely jealous of the relations which had begun to exist between the Apostolic See and Great Britain. They know, that a perfect union between the two, must necessarily tend to check their extravagances, and restore to Christ, His lost patrimony in the East.'

'To this, the King replied with some emotion, saying:—

"May God pardon the first authors of the rupture."

"Sire," I answered, "the greater will be your Majesty's glory, when by your means, so great an evil is remedied." To which the King made no further response.'

Not long after, Charles asked Conn whether he considered it an easy thing, for a man to change his religion.

'I told him,' said Conn, 'that when a man applied himself

without passion or prejudice, to find out the truth, God never failed to enlighten him. The which, the King took in good part.'

'I am obliged to proceed very cautiously,' he adds, 'that they may not think the rumour of my coming here, to receive the King into the Church, had its origin in my presumption. It was a truly diabolical invention, and calculated to spoil everything.'

If the Puritans were angry before, Conn's sojourn in England, lashed them into fury. *Rome's Masterpiece* was written when his mission had come to an end, and in the first flush of Puritan triumph. On its title-page, it styles the mission, the 'Grand Conspiracy of the Pope and his Jesuited instruments, to extirpate the Protestant religion, re-establish Popery, subvert laws, liberties, peace, parliaments—by kindling a civil war in Scotland and all His Majesty's realms, and to poison the King himself, in case he comply not with them in these their execrable designs.'

This is how the 'conspiracy' is said to have been discovered:—

'Revealed out of conscience to Andreas ab Habernfield, by an agent sent from Rome, into England, by Cardinal Barberini, as an assistant to Conn, the Pope's late Nuncio, to prosecute this most execrable plot (in which he persisted a principal actor several years), who discovered it to Sir William Boswell, His Majesty's agent at the Hague, 6th September, 1640. He, under an oath of secrecy to the Archbishop of Canterbury (among whose papers it was casually found by Mr. Prynne, May 31st, 1643), who communicated it to the King, as the greatest business that ever was put to him.'

Events had succeeded each other with alarming significance. It had been found impossible to uphold Conn in the position of envoy. He had consequently been withdrawn, and in August 1639, Count Rossetti was sent to lead the forlorn hope of the English Catholics.

There was scarcely any further talk of the nation's return to the bosom of the Church; the tone was now rather that if the King could be got to act with any degree of firmness and consistency, all might not yet be lost.

Rossetti draws a very life-like portrait of the character of Charles in one of his letters:—

‘The King is very high-minded, but having no sincere, experienced and capable persons to assist him, he is often either agitated, or changeable and undecided, in the administration of affairs. He has great parts and much benevolence, is by nature gentle and moderate, and with regard to morals, is singular among princes. It is not possible to exaggerate his love of justice; in the exercise of this virtue he is little accessible to compassion, but at the same time he is no friend of capital punishment. Honesty is one of the strongest points in his character, but not being surrounded with trustworthy Ministers, it often happens that he neglects the interests of the State, and gives himself up to hunting, which is his favourite occupation and amusement.’

But the Puritans were fast gaining the upper hand; Parliaments haggled with the King over the supplies; frightful scenes were enacted in the churches.

‘Last Sunday morning,’ writes Rossetti, ‘many Protestants and Puritans being assembled at church to celebrate their sacrament, it came to a great contest between them; some were determined to communicate sitting, others kneeling. From words, they passed to blows, causing much disturbance.’

‘The other day, a large number of Puritans went into a Protestant church, and upset the altars which stood against the wall, with rails in front of them, where people were going to Communion in the Catholic manner. They took possession of twelve statues, representing the twelve Apostles, and carried them with cries and tumult into the Parliament.’

On another occasion, he wrote:—‘The Archbishop of Canterbury persecutes the Catholics more than ever. On the Vigil of Pentecost, I am told by a trustworthy person, he threw himself at the King’s feet, beseeching him to proceed against the Catholic religion, at least from political interests if not from conscientious motives.’

Laud was terrified. All that he had done to imitate Catholicism, he now undid, as far as he was able, in order to pacify the Puritans. According to Rossetti, the order to bow at

the Holy Name, was revoked. The communion tables were replaced in the middle of the churches, and from being called altars, were re-christened tables. The altar rails were abolished in order that the communicants might do as the Calvinists did.

A quantity of Catholic books were ostentatiously burned in a public square. The state of affairs looked less like re-union with Rome than ever.

But all that Laud could do, availed him nothing; the disturbances continued in the churches, and scarcely a service was held, without a quarrel arising, as to the manner of conducting it, some fighting for one posture, some for another.

Neither did the Archbishop become more popular with the multitude. A courageous stand against the Puritans, might have inspired them with some respect for their enemy; yielding to them from fear only made them more formidable. Sometimes the High Church party would still score a victory here and there. A Puritan holding forth one day in Westminster Abbey, with the usual flow of eloquence, on the difference between the Catholic religion and that of the Puritans, the Bishop of Lincoln rose, and declared that his language was unbecoming in a pulpit, put an end to the sermon, and made the preacher come down.

But these triumphs were rare; few of the King's men were as bold as the Bishop of Lincoln; they all seemed to be painfully busy in saving their skins, while the Parliamentarians complained loudly and efficaciously that Charles had allowed the Primate to foist a new religion upon them.

Through the Primate, they proceeded to attack the King. Placards began to appear all over London, with declarations that the people were determined to enjoy the liberty with which they were born, and to maintain the integrity of their religious worship. One of these placards was discovered one morning nailed to the gate of the royal palace; it contained these words: 'Charles and Maria, doubt not, but that the Archbishop must die!'

The King's authority had disappeared with his dignity, and the parsimony of successive Parliaments had impoverished the royal family to such an extent, that the want of money was

not the least of their troubles. At one time they were reduced to such straits, that hunger would have stared them in the face but for the alternative of pawning their jewels. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Charles should have turned to the Pope for help.

The following letter of Rossetti's to the Cardinal, if somewhat discursive, is interesting as the record of a kind of *somation respectueuse*, which he now judged necessary to make to the King.

‘Oatlands, August 1st 1640.

‘Your Eminence's letters of the 30th June and the 7th July having reached me, I did not omit to speak to Mr. Windebank on the subject of His Majesty's conversion, and of the succour, in the shape of men and money that will be sent to him from Rome, in the event of its taking place. After some talk about the present state of the King's affairs, Mr. Windebank asked me whether I had received letters from Rome relating to the proposal he had already made me. I replied that I had, and that your Eminence was extremely well disposed towards this country, sympathizing deeply with His Majesty in his troubles, caused by the disobedience and faithlessness of the Puritans. This led to my saying that a State could not possibly be either happy or secure unless united, and that unity was impossible without one uniform religion. I then put forward the indisputable fact, that a prince whose subjects profess one faith alone, is beyond compare more powerful than a sovereign whose people are split up into various religions, and that the many sects in this realm, opposed to every form of political government, ought to make His Majesty pause and reflect on the remedy.

‘I added that in reality there was no other remedy than for the King, with all his Protestants, to embrace our holy religion, when, forming one body with the Catholic party, they would be strong enough to keep the Puritans in check.

‘On the other hand, it was, I said, only too evident, that if measures were not taken to repress them, they would grow so powerful as to imperil one day the very existence of monarchy in England.

‘Every hour it became, I held, more apparent how little they were in touch with the King, and how determined they were, never to rest till they had introduced popular government in some form or other.

‘Here I digressed, in order to point out how often King James, His Majesty’s father, had found himself in danger of losing his life by the machinations of the Puritans, having been menaced by them even before he saw the light of day. I then went on to point out that King Charles was placed in the very same danger, and his kingdom reduced to such a state of discord and weakness, that he must fear daily to find himself and his crown the prey of his worst enemies.

‘The Puritans have always been, and ever will be, intent on upsetting all kingly authority. Such is the rebellious spirit of their Calvinism, that it aims at nothing less than the total destruction of the King and of the Catholic religion.

‘I then spoke of the greatness which would accrue to England, if the King’s conversion were brought about, dwelling not only on the advantageous relationships he might form, in disposing of the Prince and Princess in marriage, but also on the disputes, perpetually taking place, between France and Spain, in which His Majesty would be the recognized arbitrator and peacemaker. Neither country would have the temerity to offend him, on account of the power he would possess to harm them, having the supreme Pontiff on his side.’

Rossetti here proceeds to define somewhat lengthily the exact position of a Catholic King of England, in European politics, and the kind of *prestige* he would acquire, if he embraced a religion to which he was already partially inclined.

Then, speaking of the King more personally, he continues:

‘If, having considered all these things, His Majesty comes to a decided resolution, he should not delay putting it into effect from fear of the consequences. Henry VIII. risked more, in his unholy determination to destroy the Catholic religion, which had flourished in this country, with such pious results for so many centuries. I insisted that it was time, His Majesty made an end of his ambiguousness and hesitation, and that he should once for all, fix his mind, there being nothing more in-

jurious than leisurely deliberation, when a man has need of prompt decision and action. I told Mr. Windebank further, that the King's procrastination was simply putting the sceptre into the hands of the Puritans, was ruining the State, his children and himself, and that a really wise prince not only provides for the safety of his kingdom, during his own life-time, but orders things in such a manner that at his death, he secures his inheritance to his posterity.

'His Majesty, I declared, could take no step more just and more pleasing to God, than by restoring to this country, its ancient religion, professed by his ancestors, and I believed that this King, so good, so just and so virtuous in many ways, was appointed by Divine Providence for the great work.

'The King was, I said already armed; help might confidently be expected to flow in from Ireland, through the devotion and loyalty of that people, and His Holiness would moreover assist him with men and money.

'Finally, I showed the necessity of this union, for the salvation of souls, a point which I ought to have begun with, it being certain, that none can be saved, out of the bosom of the Catholic Church. Of this, the Nicæan Council speaks, in the great creed, in *unam sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam et Apostolicam*, in which Protestants believe, as we do, and yet, it is not said that there are two or more churches.

'Confessing as they do, that ours is the Catholic Church, they contradict their own belief in the said creed, and not only this, but the ancient Fathers, and the Holy Scriptures agree, that the Church of God is one.

'Having added many other things to this proposition, I said, that if one examined the reasons which induced Henry VIII. to give up the Church, one would find that they had no other origin, than in sensuality and spleen—false and unworthy pretexts.

'I ended by declaring, that whoever considers a matter so important as is the salvation of souls, ought to have his eyes well open, and not consent to the errors of that King, whose actions are condemned and abhorred by all.

'Mr. Windebank replied that he had listened to me with

pleasure, and had weighed all my reasons, finding them very true; but that for the accomplishment of an undertaking so momentous, a large heart and a strong will were indispensable, and these he could not at present promise me. He told me, in confidence, that never until now, had negotiations of such importance, passed through his hands, to be followed by so few results. One day, the King would have recourse to an expedient, and the next, would stultify it, with the greatest inconstancy imaginable.

‘Nevertheless, he assured me that he would not fail to repeat all I had said, to His Majesty, at the first opportunity.

‘. . . The matter is indeed so grave, that one rather hopes in the sovereign power of God than in any human help. Still we must be ready, for His Divine Majesty often makes use of creatures to bring forth works which shall redound to his service.

‘I observed, both with Father Philip and Mr. Windebank all the caution that such an important undertaking demands. May God Who gives and Who takes away realms, Who changes and governs them as He pleases, enlighten the King’s mind, that he may know what he should do, for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of all his people.’

In 1641, many letters were written and received by Count Rossetti, relating to the freedom of conscience to be granted to Catholics, in return for a sum of 600 scudi. But freedom of conscience was one of the unfulfilled conditions of the royal marriage settlement; and the Pope, it was objected, could not treat with an heretical sovereign. ‘Only in the event of the King’s conversion’ wrote the Cardinal, February 21st, 1641, ‘would it be possible for me to entreat His Holiness to send a considerable sum of money.’

On the 19th July of the same year, Rossetti wrote as follows:—

‘I told him (Father Philip) that the only way to obtain help from the Holy See, was by His Majesty’s return to the Catholic Church.

‘He answered that such a step would be extremely difficult at present, not because the King had any dislike to Catholicism,

neither did he wish to prevent Catholics from saving their souls; but that it was evident, if he changed his religion just now, he would run great risk of losing his crown and his life. But if he were enabled to recover his power and authority, the Catholic cause would be strengthened by supporting him; and his conversion might then be confidently looked forward to.

‘The Queen Mother told me, that in speaking of certain miracles performed by the saint, in whose honour processions are being made just now at Antwerp, she observed the King listening attentively, seeming to have a decided taste for the Catholic religion. She however, admitted, that although he appears to have great natural capacity, and to understand the critical state of his affairs, he is, as they say, timid, slow and irresolute.’

Charles never went any further than a ‘decided taste for the Catholic religion,’ and what would have happened had he really thrown himself into the arms of the Pope, must remain one of those curious and unsolvable historical problems, with which the world is full.

Would the Papacy, still a force in Europe, have been able to save him from the terrible fate that awaited him? Obligated to act from definite, logical principles in the place of his mischievous theory of the *royal prerogative*, the *divine right of kings*, would he have gained in moral weight, as well as in the material advantages held out to him?

The Puritans were, it may be argued, as little inclined to tolerate an infallible Pope, whom they hated and feared, as an infallible king, whom they could drive into a corner, and possibly the king would only have died for another cause.

Under a portrait of Charles I., painted in the fortieth year of his age, in which he is represented as grave, troubled and with a hunted look in his eyes, Prynne wrote the following verse:—

‘All flesh is grass, the best men vanity,
This, but a shadow, here before thine eye,
Of him, whose wondrous changes clearly show
That God, not man, sways all things here below.’

J. M. STONE.

ART. II.—THE NATIONAL MUSIC OF SCOTLAND.

A NOBLE national music, it has been remarked, is an indication of many national virtues. The songs of a country are the truest expression of its national life and sentiment; and the general diffusion of beautiful traditional melodies among a people, implies the prevalence of refined sensibilities and of tender and exalted feelings. Such melodies could never originate with a nation of sordid and sensual tastes; nor could they be preserved among men whose natures rendered them insensible to those charms which music is by all allowed to possess. The national song of a country is the natural result of the manners of life of the people; and just as these vary in different nations, so does the music which has grown with these nations vary in its peculiarities and effects. Not a country in the world is without a national music of its own. Rude and barbarous it may be, but it will have its own distinct characteristics, and it will appeal as no other music can to the nation or tribe to which it owes its existence.

The power of national song has indeed been long recognised and admitted. Linking itself with objects and events that are cherished and memorable, it has become 'the depository of all that is interesting to human feeling or dear to national pride; and by the innumerable recollections which it involves, united with its natural power to excite emotion, it acquires a magic influence over the heart which no other art can lay claim to.' It has frequently been minimised and sneered at as a low form of musical creation, unworthy of serious attention, and incapable of elevating the mind. But surely the place of music is to please as well as to ennoble; and it is at least not surprising that the people should find a special charm in that which is of their own production and belongs to themselves. Nature has always proved stronger than art, and here we have further evidence of her superiority. In musical composition the admiration and applause of the cultured few may be gained for that which is scientific and abstruse; but it is only by simple

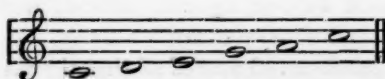
strains that the ordinary hearer is captivated and the finer feelings of his heart are stirred. The critical musician may, if he will, decry the national music of a country as being devoid of expression and beauty, but the people to whom it belongs will assuredly feel that it is lacking in neither of these qualities. For our part, we think the music of every nation—every civilized nation at least—has charms which any one can appreciate if its true spirit is entered into without prejudice; and there is certainly something wrong with the heart of that man who, loving his country, does not also love his country's music. If there is any truth at all in Shakespeare's lines, surely he, of all men, is 'fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils . . . let no such man be trusted.'

The term 'national music' has sometimes been misunderstood. It is properly applied to 'that aboriginal or self-sown music which is referable to no individual author, or school of authors, but seems to be the fruit of the very soil itself.' It designates any music which, being written in the peculiar taste of the nation to which it appertains, appeals more powerfully than other music to the feelings of that nation, and is consequently pre-eminently cultivated in a certain country. Need we say how well this description applies to the national music of Scotland? The latter has come down to us the inheritance and the growth of centuries. 'In its various forms it is interwoven with the history of the country from the earliest times; and it is closely associated with all the national, social, and religious feelings of an ancient, free, and thoughtful people.' Its character, too, is of the highest. It is both extensive and varied, and in every one of its branches we may claim for it a very eminent degree of praise. Its dance tunes are full of a spirit and force unequalled by those of any other nation; its humorous airs are marked by a signal power of 'clever or grotesque merriment;' its graver melodies are generally polished and graceful; and those of a pathetic nature are unrivalled in the tenderness of their effect. Taken all in all, we are not convinced, to quote the words of an old writer, 'that there is any other body of national music in the world that surpasses that of Scotland in force, in character, in

versatility, or genius.' Holding these opinions, it will be readily conceived that we enter on the consideration of our subject with feelings not only of pleasure but of pride.

Every one who has made any acquaintance with the melodies of Scotland must have been struck not only with their peculiar character, but also with the varied styles in which they are composed. As a writer in an early *Blackwood* has well said, 'even where we cannot draw a distinction in point of known antiquity, we see some of them that have all the aspect of modern compositions, while others present us with passages of melody to which we are elsewhere unaccustomed, and which have a wild and strange, though, in general, also a pleasing and touching effect. *The Lass of Patie's Mill*, for instance, is not known to be a modern air, but, if presented to us for the first time without information as to its history, we might pronounce it to be beautiful, but we should not conjecture it to be old. Others of the Scotch airs are in a different situation, and would strike us, even without explanation, as different from the compositions of modern masters, and as the probable growth of another age, or country, or system from our own.' On these facts, it comes to be a question for consideration, what are the essential peculiarities into which this singularity of style and effect can be analysed?

Several ingenious theories have at various times been advanced in explanation of the peculiarities of Scottish music. To examine here every one of these theories would be as impracticable as it is unnecessary, and we shall confine ourselves to a consideration of those features which have been most generally claimed as the true characteristics of the national song. These characteristics, it has been affirmed, are fully accounted for by three particulars: (1) by the use of a scale consisting of five notes; the fourth and seventh of our modern scale being omitted—



(2) by the marked and constant use of the flat seventh of the

scale ; and (3) by the use of the Scotch 'snap.' It was Dr. Burney, the musical historian, who first pointed to these particulars as constituting the peculiarities of Scottish melody, and the musical world, apparently without the slightest consideration or examination, has all but universally accepted them as correct. We hope to prove that one at least of the particulars is totally erroneous, and it will be a task of no great difficulty to show that the remaining two afford only an imperfect explanation of the peculiarities of Caledonian music. As Mr. Colin Brown has remarked, these dicta of Dr. Burney 'have been the means of bringing a blight upon the whole subject of Scottish music, for anything more untrue or more absurd could hardly have been said regarding it.' The subject is of sufficient importance to justify our dealing with it in some detail, and in doing so we shall take the points in the order in which they are mentioned above.

The theory of a pentatonic or five-note scale in Scottish music is one which has been advanced in many musical works besides those of Dr. Burney. The fullest view of it is, however, to be found in a 'Dissertation concerning the National Melodies of Scotland,' prefixed to the edition of Mr. George Thomson's Collection of 1822. The writer of this dissertation resolves the theory into these propositions: 'That there is but one series of sounds in the national scale, upon which every ancient Scottish air is constructed, whatever may be its varieties, either of mode or of character. This national scale is the modern diatonic scale divested of the fourth and seventh, there being no such thing in the national scale as the interval of a semitone.' A careful examination of the whole body of Scottish music has shown, says the writer, that 'every air (with a very few exceptions) which is really ancient is constructed precisely according to this scale, and does not contain a single note which is foreign to it; excepting only in the case of those airs (which are few in number) of which the series has occasionally been altered by the introduction of the flat seventh.'

Now, it may be observed first of all that the pentatonic scale is not by any means peculiar to Scotland. It is found in the

music of several nations of various degrees of civilization and culture, and it cannot therefore be looked upon as the exclusive property of Scottish song: to speak of it as *the* national scale is not only absurd but incorrect. Furthermore, although it is the case that several of the Scottish airs are without the fourth and seventh of the scale, that proposition is not true of more than a very small proportion of the whole. Out of fifty melodies contained in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*—to go back to the earliest printed collection—only about half a dozen are defective in both the fourth and the seventh; while there is scarcely a single air which does not contain one or other of these intervals. In the Skene MS., one of the oldest collections known, we find numerous instances of semitonic intervals, which could never have been introduced if the airs in which they are found had been systematically constructed according to a scale from which these intervals were excluded.

It would be perfectly easy to give the names of many undoubtedly ancient airs in which may be found striking examples of the use of both the fourth and the seventh of the scale. *The Broom of the Cowdenknowes*, for instance, is a melody the antiquity and nationality of which have never been called in question; yet here we have the fourth of the scale introduced with singular beauty and effect, and that not merely as a passing note, but as an accented note of some duration. Again, no one has ever disputed the authenticity of *Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes*: it is undoubtedly very old, and, as Burns remarks, 'in the true old Scotch taste;' yet in this air we see the seventh of the scale employed with excellent result. Once more, in *The Souters of Selkirk*, an admittedly genuine old air, we find both the fourth and the seventh of the key, the tune actually ending with the latter interval! Now each of these three melodies—and they are not, let it be particularly observed, isolated examples, but are selected from a large number which might be mentioned—must either be held as destructive of the pentatonic scale theory, or must be deprived of the status of genuine and ancient melodies 'of which they have enjoyed the undisturbed possession ever since we knew anything of them at all.' It is hardly necessary

to say which of the two positions must give way. The five-note scale theory is, in fact, untenable. It would exclude as unauthentic many undoubtedly ancient airs, and would leave absolutely unaccounted for a large number of the admittedly genuine productions which have long been included in our national collections. We are, of course, far from denying the legitimacy of inferring a general rule from examples which point to a deviation from its observance; but we maintain that the theory of a pentatonic scale cannot be held if there are any considerable number of exceptions to its application. That there are such a number of exceptions we have plainly indicated; and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that, although a few of the Scottish airs show an absence of the fourth or the seventh of the scale, such absence must be considered as only an occasional peculiarity, and not as an essential or invariable feature of the whole body of the national song.

The theory of the flat seventh has always been a pet one with musical writers seeking to account for the peculiar character of the Scottish music. If this were not the case we should deem it unworthy of notice here, for the explanation of the matter is so simple that one can only marvel at its being so long withheld. Until Mr. Colin Brown, in the preface to his admirable collection entitled *The Thistle*,* explained that the theory arises entirely from an error of notation no one seems to have thought of disputing its soundness. The matter has been so clearly put by Mr. Brown, that we cannot do better than quote his words. 'Much of our old Scottish music,' says he, 'is constructed upon the oldest noted form of the major scale, Guido's gamut—

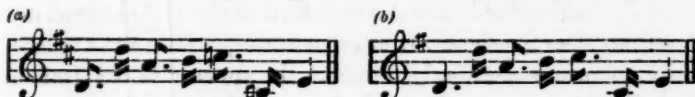
5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5
so	la	te	do	re	me	fa	so.

* This excellent work was published by Messrs. Collins in 1883. By its faithfulness to the old traditional forms, by the appropriateness of its accompaniments, and by its admirable historical and critical notes it has raised itself to the position of being the best collection of Scottish airs yet published. Those of our readers who may desire to study further the subject of Scottish song could not select a better guide.

The melodies, *A man's a man for a' that*, and *Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled*, are fine examples of this mode, in which it will be observed the seventh interval *fa-so* is a full tone. When music of such construction is noted in the major scale of the tonic,

1 2 3 7 5 6 7 8
do re me fa so la te do,

in which the seventh interval *te-do* is only a semitone, of course the *te* must be flattened; hence all the flat sevenths which disfigure our music books.' A good illustration of these points is found in the well-known song of *Tullochgorum*. It is generally noted with eleven flat sevenths in the melody; but it can be written, and it *ought* to be written without a single flat seventh. In order to make this plain we give the following illustration from the second line of the song, (a) being the usual form with flat sevenths, (b) the proper form which allows of the melody being written without flat sevenths—



The theory of the flat seventh, like that of the pentatonic scale, must therefore be abandoned; it has arisen 'solely and simply from music being erroneously noted in a form or mode of the scale different from that in which it is constructed.'

That which is assigned as the third peculiarity of Scottish music has a somewhat more solid foundation than the other features we have just considered. Such piquancy as many of the airs possess is due in no small measure to the characteristic rhythmical figure known as the 'snap' or 'catch'—a figure which consists of two notes so written that the first has only one fourth the duration of the second—



Good examples are to be found in *Roy's Wife o' Aldivalloch*, in *Whistle o'er the lave o't*, and in *Within a mile o' Edinburgh town*. About the middle of last century, when imita-

tions of the Scottish airs were being produced in London, the 'snap' was used most unsparingly as being the supposed leading peculiarity of the Caledonian melodies. Evidence of this may be seen in several of the Anglo-Scottish songs printed in Johnson's *Musical Museum*. This particular form of imitation spread even to the Italian operatic music of the day. Dr. Burney, giving an account of the state of the opera in the middle of the last century, says:—'There was at this time much of the Scotch *catch*, or cutting short the first of two notes in a melody.' And again, recording the performance of the opera *Vologeso*, composed by Cocchi, Perez and Jomelli, he remarks, 'The Scots *snap* seems to have been contagious in that school [the Neapolitan] at this time, for all the three masters are lavish of it.' There is, however, a probability of the continental masters having introduced the snap into their compositions quite independently of any suggestions from the Scottish airs. Both Mozart and Gluck employ it, and it is unlikely that either of these composers would have sought inspiration from Scotland. It must be noted, too, that the 'snap' is by no means peculiarly Scotch. It appears in old Italian melodies between the dates of 1560 and 1730; and it is also to be found in the folk-music of the Hungarian and one or two other continental nations. In Scottish music, it is essentially a characteristic of the dance known as the 'Strathspey;' and whenever it is met with in a song it will generally be found that the air has been at one time used as a 'Strathspey' tune. It is only occasionally found in the older airs, and hardly ever in slowly moving melodies of a pathetic nature. On the whole, therefore, the 'snap' cannot be looked upon as a universal characteristic of the Scottish music.

Having thus shown that no one of the usually-accepted peculiarities of our national melody sufficiently explains its character, it is necessary to enquire what are its true features. These, briefly, are to be found in the modal structure of the music—a structure which has been frequently put down as the result of rudeness or ignorance, but which is conformable to the approved, and, indeed, the only principles of musical composition prevailing in the remote periods which produced those

airs in which it is exhibited. The laws of melody which were then in force are best illustrated by a reference to the old ecclesiastical music, which was constructed, not upon our two modern modes only, but upon the seven modes of the ancient Church. In these seven modes the same sounds were employed as are now used in the scale of C major, but each note of the seven which form our scale was taken as the beginning of a series and carried through to its octave diatonically—that is, without any accidental alterations of sharps or flats. Thus the mode on the second of the scale would read—D, E, F (not F sharp), G, A, B, C (not C sharp), D; the mode on the fourth would read F, G, A, B (not B flat), C, D, E, F; and so on with the others, using every note of our modern scale as the foundation of a series of diatonic progressions extending to the octave of the starting note. Of the seven modes which are thus formed, three (those on the 1st, 4th and 5th, of the scale) are what we now understand as major modes, while four, (those on the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 7th, of the scale) are minor.

Now it is in the affinity of the national music of Scotland with these old modes that we find an explanation of much in the former which otherwise must appear to us anomalous. It is, for instance, by this affinity that we can alone account for the number and variety of the cadences, which constitute one of the special peculiarities of the old airs. Our modern music knows only two forms of cadence—major and minor—whereas in the Scottish music cadences will be seen on every note of the scale. These we could not possibly explain by our present system. A peculiarity, too, of many of these cadences is, that they close on an unaccented part of the measure, instead of, as is usual in other music, on an accented part, the last note being really of the nature of an echo. Instances of double cadences are numerous, and we need only point them out as existing in *A man's a man for a' that, Maggie Lauder, and Wae's me for Prince Charlie.*

Again, the same affinity affords an explanation of the curious fact that airs are to be found not only beginning but ending on every note of our modern scale. It is certain no composer would now think of closing an air with the seventh of the

major key; yet this note, as we have already seen, is used as the concluding note of *The Souters of Selkirk*; and it may be found in one or two other airs, if the latter have not been put into an incorrect notation, as is frequently done by ignorant compilers. *The Reel of Tulloch*, properly noted without flat sevenths, ends with the fourth of the scale, and is a perfect specimen of the mode of the fourth. The number of airs having as their first and last notes the second of the scale is almost as large as in the case of those written in our modern minor of the sixth of the key. In this class may be named *The Laird of Cockpen* and *John Anderson, my Jo*—in their original forms, we must add, for some tinkering editors have reduced both airs to the notation and harmony of the common minor key. Examples of airs constructed on the modes of the third and the fifth are very common; of the former class we may instance *I'm owre young to marry yet* (a fine example of the mode) and *Roy's Wife o' Aldivalloch*; of the latter, *Scots, wha hae*, and *O Waly! Waly!* Except on the fourth and seventh, there are indeed numerous instances of airs written on every one of the modes, which must thus be recognised as the foundation upon which the old Scottish national music is laid, and which, more than anything else, must be held as accounting for its peculiar construction and outstanding characteristics.

The modes serve also to explain the occasional omission of the fourth and seventh of the key from some of the more ancient airs. The circumstance that these modes 'were all framed upon the notes which occur in the diatonic scale of C major, made it necessary often to avoid those intervals that were inconsistent with the general impression of the several modes. Thus, in the mode of F, the natural B, or fourth of the mode, would frequently be a disagreeable note, and there being no flat B in the scale, that interval (the fourth) would come to be often omitted. Again, in the mode of G, the natural F, or seventh of the scale, would be omitted for the same reason, except in those cases where it could be made subservient to a pleasing and peculiar modulation.'

To these comprehensive principles which we have endea-

voured to set forth, it will be found the great body of the Scottish national airs are, as we have already indicated, reducible. We say 'the great body'; for, just as many old ecclesiastical compositions are unassignable to any mode, so there are several Scottish airs which cannot be explained on the principles we have illustrated. These airs, however, form a very small minority; and in a matter so confessedly obscure we must be content to establish a connexion between the old modes and the Scottish national music, though we are unable to follow it out in every particular.

It is important to observe, however, that what is accounted for by this connexion is only the scales themselves—their peculiarities and their general laws. The connexion must not be taken as implying that our national airs are founded upon Church models, or that they resemble the ancient Church song. It is a pretty fancy of the Church historian to trace the influence of the old ecclesiastical music on the national melodies: 'The daily cathedral service, the solemn chanting of the monks in their conventual buildings, and the way in which the Roman ritual had so beautifully blended music with almost every act of religious worship, diffused a love of it among the people. It is probable that some of those touchingly simple Scottish airs of unknown antiquity, which give such perfect utterance to the finest feelings of the Scottish heart, may first have been sung by young men and maidens, who learned from monks the concord of sweet sounds.'*

In truth, however, the two styles (the popular and the ecclesiastical) had nothing more in common than two compositions may be expected to have which are drawn from the same series of sounds. More than that could, indeed, hardly be looked for. The old ecclesiastical music, like the Church to which it belonged, was quite opposed to progressive development; it was governed by strict laws and arbitrary rules which left no freedom for the spontaneous, instinctive expression of natural musical feeling. Under these circumstances it could not be expected that the composer would succeed in producing

* Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, edition 1882, i., 508.

music characterised by any other qualities than dryness and pedantry; and these are the very qualities which the ancient Church music exhibits. On the other hand, the musician of the outer world, if we may use the term, was unfettered in the expression of his feelings; he had to work with the same colours—the same old modes—as the church composer, but, unlike him, he could give free play to the dictates of his heart and fancy, and he was thus enabled to produce a picture as beautiful and true to nature as the other was unreal and ineffective. ‘Recent researches,’ says one of the keenest investigators into the history of national song, ‘have more and more established the fact that, along with the scientifically cultivated music of the Church, there existed always a secular and popular music, which, though without much pretension in an artistic point of view, was generally distinguished by a natural vigour and true expression, while the more skilfully composed ecclesiastical music was often pedantic and dry.*’ And this is undoubtedly true. It is an any rate the case that in their rhythm, measure and accent, the Scottish airs are altogether opposed to the old music, for the latter had none of the qualities named. In all that gives to them their beauty and tunefulness these airs are different from the music of the ancient Church, from which they could have borrowed nothing, because, as we have seen, it had nothing suitable to give.

It may be considered as one of the leading peculiarities of national music that the names of those who have combined to make it are seldom known. This is the case with every collection of national song with which we are acquainted; and it is peculiarly so with regard to that of Scotland. Naturally enough, perhaps, this absence of composers’ names from the large majority of the Scottish tunes has led to various attempts being made to trace the origin of these tunes and to associate them with individuals. We cannot hope, in the space at our command, to notice all these attempts, but two, by reason of the persistency with which they have been maintained, must be specially dealt with.

* Engel, *The Study of National Music*, p. 318.

The notion was at one time widely entertained that the best of the national music of Scotland was composed by David Rizzio, the unfortunate favourite of the equally unfortunate Mary Stuart. Rizzio was an Italian, having been born at Turin, in Savoy. His father, who was a poor man, bred him and the rest of his children up to music. Ultimately David went to the town of Nice, where the Duke of Savoy then kept Court, 'and it was his chance,' says an old historian, 'to be taken into the service of Mons. Moret, who was shortly to go ambassador from the Duke to Scotland. The Queen had at this time three *valets de chambre*, who sang three parts in music, but they wanted a bass to sing the fourth part. And David Rizzio, being a good musician and a merry fellow, they told her Majesty of him as a person fit enough to make the fourth in concert. He pleased her Majesty greatly, and she employed him for a time in writing her French letters.' This latter office—that of French secretary—Rizzio did not long enjoy. On the 9th March, 1566, he was, as every student of history knows, brutally murdered in Holyrood. He had come to Scotland in 1561, and had thus been little more than four years in the country.

How or when the belief that Rizzio was the composer of many of the old Scottish melodies originated it is difficult to determine; but certainly there is no trace of such a belief for at least a century and a half after his death. Tassoni, his countryman, born in 1565, states in his *Pensieri Diversi* that 'a new and plaintive style of melody' was invented by King James of Scotland, by whom is no doubt meant James I. The value of this assertion will be considered afterwards, but in the meantime it is cited as showing that not only had no claim been then put forward on behalf of Rizzio, but also that an earlier origin was then assigned to Scottish melody. Mr. G. Farquhar Graham, editor of Wood's *Songs of Scotland*, thinks it probable that Rizzio's name was first connected with Scottish melody by his countrymen who were in England about the beginning of last century. 'We know,' says Mr. Graham, 'that Italian music was then fashionable in London, and that Scottish song divided the public taste with it. Whether the flowing style of

melody peculiar to the Lowland pastoral airs induced the belief that an Italian only could write them we do not pretend to say.' It is at anyrate certain that as a composer Rizzio was not heard of until 1725, when Thomson published his *Orpheus Caledonius*, the first collection of Scottish music so-called. In this collection the editor distinguishes seven of the songs by an asterisk, and says: 'the songs marked thus were composed by David Rizzio.' It may be well to quote the names of these songs, they are as follow: '*The Lass of Patie's Mill*,' '*Bessie Bell*,' '*The Bush aboon Traquair*,' '*The Bonnie Boatman*,' '*An thou were my ain thing*,' '*Auld Rob Morris*,' and '*Doun the burn, Davie*.' This is the earliest evidence in favour of Rizzio. But what is its value? Three of the songs mentioned were certainly not more than fifty years old at the time of printing, and the last in the list is generally believed to have been of very recent composition. As to Thomson himself, he must have come to look upon his action as having favoured an imposture, for in the second edition of the *Orpheus*, published in 1733, he suppresses the name of Rizzio entirely and without comment.

A little later on in the century (1740), the Rizzio theory was again set afloat by the ridiculous attempts of James Oswald, the editor of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, to make the public believe that airs of his own composition were the work of the Italian. Oswald evidently considered this a splendid joke. In the volume of the *Scots Magazine* for 1741 (p. 455) his tricks are pointedly alluded to in a poetical epistle addressed to him—

' When wilt thou teach our soft Ædian fair,
To languish at a false Sicilian air;
Or when some tender tune compose again,
And cheat the town wi' David Rizo's name ?'

It will thus be seen that no dependence can be placed either in Thomson or Oswald in regard to the Rizzio theory. 'Their pretended knowledge,' as has been remarked, 'is mere assumption, which, however it might have imposed on the credulous and uninformed, will not bear the test of sober criticism.'

But unfortunately it is necessary to examine the theory still

somewhat more in detail, for it has been repeated even within comparatively recent years by writers who, if they had not the means of acquiring better information, should have had the good sense to remain silent. In this connexion, we regret to have to take Goldsmith to task for his treatment of a subject which he at anyrate had better have left alone. In his works will be found an *Essay on the different Schools of Music*, in which the national music of Scotland receives a share of attention. After making the extraordinary statement that the Italian school was founded by Pergolesi, Goldsmith goes on—

‘The English school was first planned by Purcell. He attempted to unite the Italian manner that prevailed in his time with the ancient Celtic carol and the Scotch ballad, which probably had its origin in Italy; for some of the Scottish ballads, *The Broom of Cowdenknowes*, for instance, are still ascribed to David Rizzio. . . . It is the opinion of the melodious Geminiani, that we have in the dominions of Great Britain no original music except the Irish; the Scotch and English being originally borrowed from the Italians. And that his opinion in this respect was just, it is very reasonable to suppose; first from the conformity between the Scotch and ancient Italian music. They who compare the old French vaudevilles brought from Italy by Rinucini, with those pieces ascribed to David Rizzio, will find a strong resemblance, notwithstanding the opposite characters of the two nations which have preserved these pieces. When I would have them compared, I mean I would have their bases compared, by which the similitude may be most exactly seen. Secondly, it is reasonable, from the ancient music of the Scotch, which is still preserved in the Highlands, and which bears no resemblance at all to the music of the Low country. The Highland tunes are sung to Irish words, and flow entirely in the Irish manner. On the other hand, the Lowland music is always sung to English words.’

The absurdities contained in this short extract are almost too extraordinary for serious notice. What can be thought, for example, of a writer who tells us to look to the *basses* of musical compositions in order to compare their resemblances? The merest tyro in harmony could write above a given bass an air in almost any style—Scotch or Italian, ecclesiastical or martial; and it is hardly necessary to point out that every series of variations upon a given theme and bass by a skilful composer affords an example of what may be done in this way. The opinion of ‘the melodious Germiniani’—the adjective, by

the way, is sadly inapplicable—may well be left out of account; unsupported by evidence it is without value; and no fact is better known to musicians than that the old Italian airs have nothing whatever in common with the Scottish melodies. Besides this, what becomes of the Welsh music, if there is 'in the dominion of Great Britain no original music except the Irish?' And when has it been shown that the Scottish Highland tunes 'flow *entirely* in the Irish manner?' It has certainly been shown, and that conclusively, that Oliver Goldsmith chose to put before the world an essay upon a subject of which he was most profoundly ignorant. We will not mention the names of other writers who have re-echoed Goldsmith's mis-statements in regard to Rizzio. It will be sufficient to say in this connection that the theory was advanced so late as 1838 in a book which had an extensive sale, and is even now frequently sought after.

Thus far, we have said nothing of Rizzio as a musician. Is there, it may be asked, any evidence to show that he was capable of composing such airs as we find among the national music of Scotland? There is no such evidence. Not a single piece of music—of course we take no account of the airs of Thomson's and Oswald's collections—is ascribed to him, and history has been searched in vain for a hint that he composed anything in any style. Geminiani, indeed, in his *Treatise on good taste in the Art of Music* (London, 1749), exalts him as a composer; but his assertions are as vague and worthless as those quoted from him by Goldsmith. However, allowing Rizzio to have been a composer of some merit, it was impossible for him to have greatly affected the style of the Scottish national music. That style was fixed before his time; for many of the best melodies are traditionally ascribed to a more remote period. Again, Rizzio, as we have seen, was only four years in the country. In this short time, even with leisure, which it is doubtful if he possessed, he could not possibly have acquired or invented a style of musical composition so different in all respects from that of his own country. Nor is it likely that he would have done so had his advantages and opportunities been greater than they were;

no foreigner has ever, so far as we are aware, succeeded in catching the true spirit of the Scottish national music, and imitations of it, even by natives, have seldom proved successful. If it is necessary to make any reservation at all in favour of Rizzio, it need only be that he may, in the words of the author of *The Minstrel*, 'have played the national melodies with more delicate touches than the Scotch musicians of his time, or perhaps corrected the extravagance of certain passages; for one is struck with the regularity of some, as well as amused with the wildness of others.' In both or one of those cases it might perhaps be said with truth that the Scotch music is under obligations to Rizzio. 'But,' again quoting Dr. Beattie, 'that this style of pastoral melody, so unlike the Italian, and in every respect so peculiar, should have been established or invented by him, is incredible; nay (if it were worth while to affirm anything so positively on such a subject), we might even say, impossible.'

The assertion of Tassoni that a new style of Scottish music was invented by King James I. has already been mentioned, and it may now be disposed of in a few words. Many indeed still 'suppose that the peculiar and plaintive pathos that haunts our native melodies may have been first breathed into them by this Royal musician.*' The theory has at least the merit of being plausible. James, unlike Rizzio, was a native of the country; he had a special interest in the people, and knew their customs and characteristics well. More than that, music was the art in which he excelled. Bower, his contemporary, tells that he 'sang sweetly,' and could play deftly on every instrument then in use, especially on the harp. But we have no proof that James was a composer of music of any kind; certainly no documents exist to show the style of that 'plaintive and mournful music, different from all other music' which the monarch is said to have 'invented.' Even tradition does not point him out as the author of any particular song. The most therefore that can be said is, that James may have composed one or two of the old national airs, and that as no tradition

* See Principal Shairp's *Studies in History and Poetry*, p. 269.

down to our time has ascertained them, they pass undistinguished under other names and are wedded to modern words.

After all it must be admitted that these speculations in regard to composers are futile. The only satisfactory theory is that which regards the people themselves as the originators of the national tunes. A national air is seldom 'composed' at all in the ordinary sense of the term; it is more frequently extemporised in a moment of extraordinary emotion, by some one having gifts superior to his fellows.* If impressive it is soon taken up by others, further diffused, and thus traditionally preserved. Like an invention making towards perfection, it may pass through many hands, he who had the first idea of it seldom completing it, but transmitting it on to others who enlarged upon it until it reached its final state. There can be little doubt that the great majority of the Scottish airs had their origin in this way, and that they came, not from the pens of trained musicians composing by rule, but from the people themselves—from those who actually felt the sentiments and affections whereof these airs are so expressive. The very variety of the national song is a proof of its plebeian origin. Professional musicians would produce pretty much the same style of melody whatever might be their surroundings, because they would write according to prescribed laws. On the other hand, the peasantry dwelling amid the melancholy of the Highland hills would almost certainly give us airs of a wild, pathetic and dreamy character; and those, again, whose homes lay among the verdure-clad, well-cultured valleys of the South country would be the originators of songs expressive of love

* The following quotation from the Preface to the Songs of the Jubilee Singers is interesting in this connection :—'The origin of these songs is unique. They are never composed after the manner of ordinary music, but spring into life, ready-made, from the white heat of religious fervour during some protracted meeting in church or camp. They come from no musical cultivation whatever, but are the simple, ecstatic utterances of wholly untutored minds. From so unpromising a source we could reasonably expect only such a mass of crudities as would be unendurable to the cultivated ear. On the contrary, however, the cultivated listener confesses to a new charm, and to a power never before felt, at least in its kind.'

and tenderness, and other emotions suited to the tranquillity of pastoral life. At anyrate, it is clear that the higher classes did little or nothing for the national song, and that the bulk of them, in such time as they could spare from external war or internal dissension solaced themselves by the charms of foreign art.

Very little can be said with certainty regarding the age of any of the Scottish national airs. Previous to the publication of the Skene MS.,* the earliest printed collection was of so recent a date as 1725, although before this several melodies had appeared in a fragmentary form in different parts of the country. The Skene MS. itself, although the oldest collection of Scottish music now known, carries us back only to the beginning of the seventeenth century—a date which would not be considered of high antiquity in the general history of music. There can be no doubt, however, that the greater number of the airs contained in this MS. were of considerable age at the time of collection. 'They bear for the most part,' says the *Blackwood* reviewer already quoted, 'the appearance of antiquity, even at that period, being designated by titles that seem to be the initial lines of popular or vulgar songs with which they must have been allied for a period of at least some duration. The instrumental symphonies and variations, also, which are introduced into some of the airs, seem to imply that they were familiar themes, of which the celebrity offered an inducement to present them in a novel aspect.' It is in this celebrated MS. that we first find that beautiful old air *The Flowers of the Forest*—an air than which no one in the whole body of national song is more closely interwoven with the feelings and patriotism of our country. Here, too, we have the melody of *Bonnie Dundee*, one of the most beautiful and characteristic of our national airs. Other old favourites are, *The last time I came o'er the Moor*, *Jenny Nettles*,

* This MS. owes its name to John Skene, of Hallyards, in Midlothian. The original is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, but a translation in one volume 4to, was published at Edinburgh in 1838. The late David Laing, the eminent antiquary, supposed the MS. to have been written early in the seventeenth century.

(under the name of *I love my love for love again*) *John Anderson, my Jo*, (in which a major third is curiously introduced on the close of the minor key), *Good Night, and joy be with you*; and many more which might be named. It is not likely that any of these were of recent date when the MS. was being completed; and it is satisfactory to be able to refer to an authentic national collection of comparatively early date as a proof that our Scottish music is not the production of recent times. That collection affords also a decisive answer to many depreciators of the national song, and especially to Ritson, who has left on record the opinion that there is no evidence of the existence of any Scottish tune prior to 1660, and who demands to know 'upon what foundation we talk of the antiquity of Scottish music.' If Ritson could have seen the Skene MS., it is certain he would not have committed himself in this extraordinary way. No one, however, recognising the modal character of our Scottish airs would cast doubts on their antiquity. The principles of modal construction are the oldest known—'anterior to any which have been used since music has been studied as a modern art or science'—and any composition in which these principles are exhibited must therefore of necessity be very old.

The connection between the Irish and the Scottish national music has frequently been brought under notice by one country claiming melodies from the other. It is, of course, well known that both countries had at one time a common language—that not many centuries have passed 'since the Scots dwelling equally in Ireland and Scotland, formed a strong connecting link between the Gaelic-speaking people of both countries. This being the case, it seems at least reasonable to suppose that the two peoples had something like a common music between them. And further, as their language has come down to us, may we not conclude that some portions of the music may have survived, and that each nation has now in its respective collections some airs which at one time belonged to the other or were perhaps the common property of both? *Limerick's Lamentation* and *Lochaber* are both Irish airs which have been claimed as Scotch. The pretty

little song of *Robin Adair* has still for its burden the Celtic welcome of *ceud m'le failte*—a hundred thousand welcomes, 'equally well-known,' says Mr. Brown, 'in the Highlands of Ireland and of Scotland;' and several other fine old airs are common to both countries, thus showing that they must have had a common origin. But although the music of the two countries possesses a strong family resemblance, each has at the same time 'a peculiar distinct individuality, so strongly marked that no one familiar with the structure of the music can fail to distinguish the separate nationality.' At the same time, it would be unsafe to dogmatize on a matter so wanting in real trustworthy evidence, for no one feature can be put forward as the unfailing characteristic of Irish any more than of Scottish music.

A few words in regard to Gaelic music, properly so-called, may here be in place. Speaking generally, the melodies of the Highlands are of a sweet and simple character, plaintive and sorrowful, rather than joyous and inspiring. The Gaelic race have insensibly absorbed the gloom of their lonely glens; and their music, more than that of any other country, seems to have always given expression, as Ossian has it, to 'the joy of grief.' The Highland *Lament* is *sui generis*, 'having no exact counterpart in any other language, its wild, rich music, presenting a perfect picture of the weird and grand scenery in which it had its origin.' Love songs form perhaps the largest class in the Gaelic muse, being full of fervour, and capable of arousing a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure. Patriotic songs are also abundant, for the Gael loves his northern hills and glens, and his poetry gives frequent emphasis to the opinion that—

'Gaelic's the best language, the best music is the pipe.'

Strictly humorous songs do not bulk largely in Gaelic collections; but it is pleasing to be able to say that such as do exist are almost entirely free from the slightest taint of impurity or indelicacy.

The extraordinary diversity and complexity of metres which is the outstanding feature of Gaelic verse has no doubt helped

to infuse a special character into the music of the Highlands. Every one who has heard Gaelic songs rendered by those who are most capable of entering into their spirit will have observed how the singer dwells on the penultimate syllable of each line and drops the last almost inaudibly. This is accounted for by the peculiar rhythm of the Gaelic words, which are all accented on the first syllable; so that the tunes, following closely this peculiarity, end with an unaccented, or sometimes two unaccented syllables. In their modal character the Gaelic melodies are even more marked than the Lowland airs. Tunes in the Doric mode (the mode on the second of the scale) are more numerous than those in any of the other modes, though the latter are also well represented. Collections of Gaelic music have been made from time to time, and while much has been done to preserve what is really good, there can be no doubt that many excellent airs are still floating about the country which have never been reduced to musical notation.*

The dance music of Scotland, regarding which something must be said, is almost entirely the product of the Highlands. There it has been 'nursed in the lap of tradition, fostered in the family of national pastimes, and developed to a perfection which has spread the influence of its character over the length and breadth of the land.' In its distinctive rhythm, in its metrical accent, and in its suitability to the movements of the dance, this department of the national music of Scotland is unique and unapproachable. A great deal of its sparkling character is no doubt to be traced to the fiddle (the true Highlander never speaks of the violin), which seems to have been the first musical instrument to give an impetus to the composition of Scottish dance music. The bagpipe, with its defective scale and inharmonious drone, could never compare

* We would commend to the attention of those interested in Gaelic poetry and music a little volume recently published by Messrs. MacLachlan and Stewart under the title of *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands*. The book contains a well-written introduction; and the musical contents (excepting a trio of most objectionable consecutive fifths in the opening number) can be warmly praised.

with the fiddle for brilliance and for inspiring quality of tone ; and when the latter instrument came into use in the country the number of reels and strathspeys increased enormously, while at the same time their quality improved. From the introduction of the violin up to the present time, contributions to the dance music of the country have been very numerous, and a bare list of composers of repute would take up considerable space. To Neil Gow, king of Scottish fiddlers, the country owes most in this direction ; and next to him should perhaps be mentioned Captain Fraser, who published a capital collection of tunes in 1815, under the patronage of the Highland Society.

The leading branch of Scottish dance music is, of course, that of the reel and strathspey. The music of the reel consists of eight-bar phrases, generally in common time, but sometimes in six-four. The most characteristic of all the Scotch reels is perhaps the *Reel of Tulloch* ; but *The Cameronian Rant*, *You're welcome*, *Charlie Stewart*, and a few others are equally good. The source of the reel itself cannot now be traced with any certainty. It is a Danish as well as a Scottish national dance ; and some writers point to the origin of the word (Anglo-Saxon *hreol* or *reol*) as showing that the dance must have come first from Denmark or Northern Germany. It must be admitted that several of the Danish reels still in use bear a strong likeness to the old popular dances of Great Britain ; but the probability is that the reel is of Celtic origin, perhaps indigenous to this country, and from here introduced into Scandinavia. The dance was at one time popular in England, and is still to be met with occasionally, although generally a hornpipe tune is used. The Irish have also their reels, which are played much faster than the Scotch ; but the national dance of the Irish may be said to be the jig, which, as a rule, is not danced with any of the hilarity which usually accompanies a Scotch reel or strathspey. Thackeray adverts to this in his interesting sketch of the diversions of the 'finest pissantry in the world' : 'Anything more lugubrious than the drone of the pipe, or the jig danced to it, or the countenances of the dancers and musicians, I never saw. Round each set of

dancers the people formed a ring, in which the figurantes and coryphées went through their operations. The toes went in and the toes went out; then there came certain mystic figures of hands across, and so forth. I never saw less grace or seemingly less enjoyment, no, not even in a quadrille. The people, however, took a great interest, and it was "well done, Tim!" "step out, Miss Brady!" and so forth during the dance.* The jig has always been popular in every European country, and it is said to be of purely British origin. Scotch jigs are mentioned by early English writers, as well as by Burns, who, in his *Jolly Beggars*, has—

' Wi' hand on haunch, and upward e'e,
He crooned his gamut, ane, twa, three,
Then, in an *arioso* key,
The wee Apollo
Set aff, wi' *allegretto* glee,
His *giga solo*.'

The strathspey is of the same musical measure as the reel but slower in movement. Of this class of tune there are many fine specimens, all rich in melody and of infinite variety. There are those which are capable of putting life and mettle into the heels of the dancers whether they will or not; some are characterised by stateliness and dignity, others are light and graceful; some are humorous, others are even plaintive. To do justice to the reel and strathspey, it requires a native player; the peculiar swing of the music can never be caught up by an Englishman. It is told of an excellent violinist from the South that, being asked to play the *Reel of Tulloch*, he gave up the task in despair, exclaiming with an amusing mixture of impatience and disgust, 'Confound your music; it is eternal, for it has neither beginning nor end.'

Of the musical peculiarities which distinguish the Scottish airs we have already spoken; their wonderful variety has also been a subject of remark, and need not therefore be greatly enlarged on. As Principal Shairp (*Aspects of Poetry*) has

* *The Irish Sketch-Book*, by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh [W. M. Thackeray], edition 1857, p. 132.

said—'Whatever may have been their origin, these airs, which have been sung by so many generations, are full of character, and have a marked individuality of their own. They are simple yet strong; mild, yet sweet; answering wonderfully to the heart's primary emotions, lending themselves alike to sadness or gaiety, to humour, drollery, or pathos, to manly independence and resolve, or to heart-broken lamentation.'

Keeping each of these characteristics in mind, is it necessary to make any apology for advocating the claims of the Scottish national song on our musical artists and amateurs? In doing this, are we asking for anything more than a rightful attention? Enough has, we think, been said to show that the Scottish airs are neither 'harsh nor crabbed, rude nor capricious, but regular according to laws of high origin, and animated by a spirit of true feeling and poetry.' Some are indeed unrivalled both for beauty and simplicity; and we know of nothing which affords a better scope for the exhibition of musical talent than a genuine Scottish melody tastefully and sympathetically rendered. Sung in a natural unaffected manner, such a melody must go to the heart of every person of feeling whose taste is not vitiated by fashion and novelty. Moreover, the words associated with most of our national airs are, as is well known, of great beauty and merit—indeed not less so than the music—and deserve for this reason the attention of every artistic mind. Had space permitted, we should have liked to direct special attention to many individual airs, and to urge their claims on all lovers of national song. We can only hope that what has been said will lead to a more general interest being taken in the melodies of Scotland, and that a field of musical study which has hitherto been only imperfectly cultivated, may yet receive the attention which it so well deserves.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

ART. III.—THE PANAMA SCANDAL.

IN a recent number* of the *Scottish Review*, we gave such a sketch of the main features of the Panama Canal Scheme as may, perhaps, have led our readers to anticipate the prodigious catastrophe which has at last occurred. In March 1888, having already issued shares and obligations to an aggregate amount of £65,900,000, for an undertaking which he had promised to complete for £24,000,000, M. de Lesseps informed his shareholders that he was in want of a farther sum of £24,000,000, in order to complete, not the original plan of a sea-level canal, but what he called a temporary waterway, rising by 5 locks to a height of 170 feet above the Atlantic, and falling by the same number of steps to the Pacific. To do this, making the top pound or *bief* 50 feet higher than (as indicated by us) the hydraulic conditions of the locality would properly allow, he proposed, by the aid of M. Eiffel, to give to the locks in question the unprecedented lifts of 26 and 36 feet, and to pump water for the top level from a reservoir to be constructed for that purpose. This modified plan, if the 24 millions of money was forthcoming, was to be *certainly* in a condition to allow of the transport of 7,500,000 tons of shipping a year, commencing on the 1st July, 1890. By July, 1888, however, the requisite 24 millions had already grown to 29 millions.

A remarkable feature in the financial history of a speculation, which it is, perhaps, wiser to describe than to define, has been that steady appetite for capital which no supply has served to satisfy or to blunt. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the history of the Suez Canal, the estimated cost of which rose, step by step, from £6,800,000 to £28,000,000. These, however, are modest figures compared to those of the Panama enterprise. The Company for making the Panama Canal was constituted with a capital of £12,000,000; the pro-

* *Scottish Review*, January, 1888, pp. 35-59.

jector intimating that it might be necessary to borrow an equal amount in order to complete the work. On 22nd February 1880, the shareholders were informed that the Canal would certainly be completed for £26,320,000. On the 27th of May, 1885, after spending nearly £20,000,000, M. de Lesseps informed the Minister of the Interior that with £24,000,000 more (making £42,800,000) he would certainly finish the sea-level canal. On 15th November, 1887, having spent about £40,000,000, the 'President Director of the Inter-oceanic Canal' wrote to the Minister of Finance to say that with £22,600,000 more, (say in all £60,000,000) he would certainly complete a canal with locks. In March, 1888, having dissipated £44,000,000, M. de Lesseps stated to the general meeting of the shareholders that with £24,000,000 more, making in all £68,000,000, he would certainly open the canal with locks and pumps to raise the water. Three months later the last figure had grown to 73 millions. At that time the French Government had been weak enough to authorise the issuing of a lottery loan, baited with heavy prizes, for £28,800,000, of which, however, the public only subscribed for about £12,800,000. In March, 1888, it was officially stated that the sum of £17,600,000 would be sufficient to pay for the works then remaining to be erected, (for the temporary canal), including the iron locks, the pumping machinery, and installation and purchases of all kinds. Nine months later, £18,000,000 was still required to complete this work. The capital received or demanded has thus grown, in 9 years, from £12,000,000 to nearly £100,000,000. The idea of a sea-level canal has been abandoned as impracticable. And if, from any source, funds could be obtained for the purpose of attempting to construct a canal with locks, on any plan that could receive the sanction of a responsible and competent engineer, it is probable that the cost of such a work would be very little reduced in virtue of the vast sums already squandered in the valley of the Chagres.

The plan and location of a locked canal would occupy quite a different line from that required for a sea-level water way. For the latter, no doubt, it would be proper to follow the

trough of the river valley for the navigable channel; a course which involves the construction of lateral canals to carry off the torrential floods, which would otherwise wreck the works, as well as the building of a regulating dam of 120 feet in height to control the floods of the Chagres. For the former, it would be proper to rise, within the shortest practicable distance from the sea, above the level of the river floods, and to cross the indomitable Chagres by an aqueduct. A plan of this nature was suggested by the American engineer, Mr. Menocal, whose knowledge of the locality was contemptuously ignored by canal makers who were not engineers. But in this case even the 22 kilometres of shallow work, the partial dredging of which was so loudly vaunted as a main part of the execution of the Canal, would have to be abandoned as altogether useless. At the present time, with the capital squandered, the works stopped, the workmen gone away, and the completion of a water way, within the limits of the concession, utterly impossible, it would be waste of time to discuss with any detail the wild imaginations of M. Eiffel.

That the scheme of a water way for ships across the Isthmus of Panama is now virtually and irrevocably at an end, we have not the slightest hesitation in concluding. The only ground of demur to this conclusion that we can recognise is that the magnitude of the loss is so great, that the losers are unable to realise that it has actually occurred. When good money has been thrown after bad, at the rate of ten millions a year for so many years; it is hardly in human nature to say—'Well, it is no use to try further. Let us make an end of a foolish job.' Let us listen for a few minutes to the evidence of a French engineer, M. Felix Paponot, *membre de la société des ingénieurs civils*. In a work published this year under the title of *Suez et Panama, une Solution*, M. Paponot has given definite statements, the accuracy of which we are able to some extent to verify. He is an advocate for a sea level canal; and he gives estimates of the cost of the completion (1) of a canal with locks, (2) of a sea level canal of the width of 22 metres at the platform, and (3) of a sea level canal of the full width of 46 metres at the bottom. It must be understood that our verification of M.

Paponot's statements extends only to his computation of the minimum quantities of excavation required in each case. For a canal with locks he gives a total cubic quantity of 80 million of metres. He is assuming the possibility of completing such a canal on the present line; and the total credit which he allows for the work already done towards this object is for 32 million of cubic metres, leaving 48 millions of cubic metres to be excavated. For a narrow sea level canal he shows that 133,000,000, and for a wide sea canal that 219,000,000, cubic metres would have now to be removed. These are minimum quantities, taken from the section, at slopes which certainly do not err on the side of safety or caution. M. Paponot has further estimated the work as executable at more than twice the speed, and at one half the cost per metre, that experience up to the present time has shown to be requisite. He leaves out of his calculations the enormous dam at Gamboa, the sea lock at Panama, and in fact every thing except excavation, interest, and management. And yet he tells us that project No. 1 will require £25,520,000; No. 2, £43,160,000; and No. 3, £60,000,000, to be spent in addition to the actual outlay, which he estimates at one hundred millions sterling. And to pay interest on these fabulous sums the only estimate of traffic which can be called serious, which is that of the bureau of statistics at Washington, shews an annual traffic of under 2,000,000 tons, or about £1,200,000 per year.

There is, however, one point of relief (if such they choose to think it), which emerges from the ruin of the subscribers to the Canal. Their loss has not been shared by the projectors of the scheme; the 'Founders,' as they call themselves. The exact advantages already secured by these persons it may be difficult to particularise; a fact to some extent explained by M. de Lesseps himself (*Bulletin*, p. 45) in the account which he gives of the advice given to him, when a young man, by Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. It is as follows—'My dear Lesseps,' said the Pasha, 'You are young. Remember in the course of your life when you have anything important to do—if you are two, there is one too many.' 'Well, I said to these gentlemen,' continues M. de Lesseps, 'this is the situation. I do not

doubt your loyalty—but I must be alone.' Even so, however, the list of benefits that has oozed out is not by any means meagre.

At the first meeting of the Company, when constituted with a share capital of £12,000,000, the shareholders were informed that they had to pay

For the Concession, - - -	£400,000
For Preliminary Expenses, - -	432,000
For Profit on these Expenses, - -	472,000
For an 'American Financial Group,' -	480,000

Of this sum, amounting to £1,784,000, £1,415,700 was actually paid to the promoters out of the first £5,000,000 called for on the shares!

In addition to this, 'these founders, besides 2,000,000 francs in cash, will have 15 per cent. on the net profits of the enterprise.' The founders appear to have thought that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush. Accordingly, as was before done in the financing of the Suez Canal, these anticipated profits were capitalised, under the title of '*parts de fondateur*,' in 'parts' of 5000 francs each. According to M. Paponot there were at first 500, and afterwards 900, of these parts, which attained a price of 80,000 each. We give that on M. Paponot's authority; not remembering the statement to have been made in the *Bulletin*. It is not, however, improbable; as we have it on the authority of M. de Lesseps himself, that the 5000 franc '*parts de fondateur*' of the Suez Canal attained in November 1880 the price of 380,000 francs each. It is certain that for the year 1883, the last for which we have had occasion to analyse the accounts, the promoters of the Suez Canal received the net sum of £143,454; and the directors and staff a further sum of £57,380, out of the profits of that undertaking. But even the lower price cited for the Panama 'parts' is not to be despised, considering the wholly imaginary value of the property sold. A further 3 per cent. of the profits was allotted to the directors; but, with the same prudent disinterestedness which seems to have marked the proceedings of the board in dealing with the money of the subscribers, these gentlemen

contented themselves with the modest payment on account of £9,600 a year for their trouble. How modest this is may be illustrated by the fact that they have been compelled to pay the manager in Panama £20,000 a year, besides houses, carriages, horses, etc. Then there were *frais de representation*, payment of various visits and expeditions, and other matters of which the details very naturally are not made prominent in the *Inventaires généraux*. On the whole the promoters do not seem to have come badly off, so far as money is concerned.

But as regards character and credit, the record is more dubious. How many of the '*parts de fondateur*' have been retained by M. de Lesseps and his nominees, and how many have been sold at 80,000 each or under, the public have not the means of knowing. Neither was such sale, to whatever extent it may have been carried out, a burden on the shareholders. But it swells the sum obtained from the French public on the faith of promises made with reckless prodigality, and made only to be broken. And to have claimed, received, and kept from the shareholders, in the first year, the above stated sum of £1,784,000, of which less than one fourth was even said to have been laid out on preliminary expenses, for the inauguration and management of a work on which so enormous an amount of money has been absolutely wasted, is a procedure which we leave to the judgment of any honest man.

It may be possible for a sanguine man to deceive himself as to a possible amount of future traffic. But this can be no excuse for stating the results of the most superficial assumptions as facts, and for neglecting the corrections of the American Board of Statistics. Even more deserving of censure is the assertion, made by M. de Lesseps so lately as 29th November, 1888, that the subscription then sought 'is not subject to the ordinary risks of industrial enterprises, as the redemption of the capital invested, and the payment of the promised prizes, are assured by the deposit of French Rentes and other securities enjoying the guarantee of the State.' The 20 per cent. of the loan so deposited may no doubt be so utilised as to assure the repayment of the whole sum within 99 years. But

M. de Lesseps omits to mention that the loan, thus to be extinguished, is *without interest*. No sources exist for the payment of interest on it, except out of capital. And probably few persons would be disposed to advance a sum of money without receiving any interest for it, merely on the guarantee that it shall be repaid within 99 years. This ought to have been explained as the real meaning of the 'guarantee,' a term, as used, eminently qualified to deceive the unwary investor.

The struggles made by M. de Lesseps to obtain funds for the continuation of his works have been incessant. In a better cause such perseverance might have been styled heroic. Having obtained from the weakness of the French Government permission to add the enticement of a lottery to the golden promises which were beginning to lose their attractiveness, on the 29th of June 1888, he attempted to issue two millions of these lottery obligations. This was his tenth appeal to the public, counting that of the first unsuccessful prospectus in 1879. In spite of the allurements of prizes of £20,000, of £10,000, and of smaller sums, only about 40 per cent. of this new issue was taken up. The proceeds was but a drop in the bucket, evaporating in a few months. After a propagandist tour through France, a strong effort was made to issue the remainder of these obligations in December, 1888. As the time for announcing the degree of success attained approached, the excitement became extreme. On the 11th of December, the day before that fixed for closing the subscriptions, the grand hall in the office of the Panama Company was crowded with subscribers. 'Many of these were women, flushed and excited, willing to stake their last penny with the hope of retrieving their fortunes. They were like desperate gamblers, whose hopes rise highest when their losses have been greatest. One lady nearly fainted on hearing from a man just from the Stock Exchange, that 500f. shares had fallen to 140f.' On the 12th, there was even a greater crush than on the preceding day; 'the public consisting exclusively of M. de Lesseps' veterans.' The scene already described took place over again. 'About four o'clock the noise was suddenly checked by the appearance in the hall of M. de Lesseps. He

climbed on a table and said, 'My friends, the subscription is safe; our adversaries are confounded. We have no need for the help of financiers. You have saved yourselves by your own exertions. The canal is made.' M. de Lesseps was then so overcome that he wept. The 200 or 300 persons present received this communication with transports of joy, and for a time there was nothing but cheering, weeping, and mutual congratulation. Every one was allowed to shake hands with M. de Lesseps, and address him with words of sympathy, confidence, love, and admiration. After the excitement had somewhat abated, the news went round that 410,000 bonds had been subscribed in Paris, and about as many in the provinces. Marseilles alone figures for 86,000. M. de Lesseps having then retired, an official stated that the lists, which were to have been closed on the preceding day at six, would be kept open till Saturday at noon. The price of shares and bonds rose, and those who were in the secret no doubt profited by the golden opportunity. On the next day, the general enthusiasm was maintained. Subscriptions flowed in. The only unfavourable symptom was the backwardness of the Company in furnishing the returns. That, however, was said to be no doubt attributable to the time required for counting so large a number of applications. Alas! at 5 p.m. the calls for 'that good M. de Lesseps' were responded to only by his son. 'We are sitting,' he said, 'at an important meeting of directors, which I left for a moment to come here. Would you prefer to know at once what I can tell you?' ('Yes—yes.') 'The subscriptions reach a total of 180,000 bonds. This being below the minimum fixed by M. de Lesseps, we shall commence returning the subscriptions to-morrow. You see, I am telling you exactly how things are.' Here there were a few cries of 'Yes, that is the best thing; we must subscribe again.' But the most of the people were too much dazed to express their feelings.

Comment would fail to add to the impression produced by the graphic description of the above quoted correspondent of the *Daily News*. On the 15th December, at a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, which lasted till close upon eight o'clock at night, the project of the Government for authorising the

Panama Canal Company to postpone paying its debts for three months was rejected by 262 votes to 188. On the same day the President of the Tribunal of the Seine appointed the Provisional Administrators 'to administer provisionally the Society, to assure the continuance of the works; and, to that end, to contract loans and offer pledges.' On the very day of entering on these functions, the discharge of the duty of the administrators was rendered more difficult by the division in the Chamber. On the 16th, and 18th, alarming despatches were received from Panama, of disorders threatening on the Isthmus, and of injury done to the works by flood, and stoppage of the railway from the same cause. The chief anxiety of the administrators was to prevent a stoppage of the work, and to arrange for the transfer of the undertaking to a new company. To this effect they opened negotiations with a syndicate, or body of financiers, whose names are not given in the report. These capitalists required a delay of six months, for the purpose of obtaining an independent report on the state of the line and work. At the expiration of that time they would declare whether they accepted the responsibility or not. In the meantime they would advance £80,000 a month for the prosecution of the works, the amount being secured by a prior claim on all the disposeable property of the Company. The administrators would not consent to more than four months' delay, and required £250,000 a month for the prosecution of the works. Further difficulties of a legal nature arose; and the administrators then agreed with the contractors on the works to carry them on until the 15th of February, being paid by 90 days' bills, secured by the deposit of 33,500 shares of the Panama Railway. As far as the very meagre accounts received from Panama go, this period has been utilised for drafting off the negro labourers from the Isthmus, so that the termination of the works has not been attended by local outrages, as was feared would be the case. The attempts to form a new company have collapsed.

The administrators admit in their Report that 'the discontinuance of the works might entail facts of exceptional gravity, and of incalculable consequence.' M. de Lesseps, in a

report published together with that of the administrators, says 'the least suspension of the work would be a veritable catastrophe, as regards the workyards and machines, which, once stopped, will necessitate considerable loss of time and money to be again started, as well as for the thousands of workmen of all races who have come to the Isthmus, who live by their work from day to day, and whom a stoppage would throw into destitution. Who can foresee the consequences of a suspension of the work?' This is all very true, but it comes rather late. Towards the close of 1888, Senor Tanco Armero, an agent of the Columbian Government, was sent by them to report on the state of the Canal works. He stated in his report that the total further expenditure necessary on the Canal would exceed £120,000,000, independent of the interest on money and cost of administration, which he valued at £4,000,000 a year. He said that the Company states that 15,000 men were employed on the works, but that it was his belief that at no time had more than 5000 men been so employed. M. Nicholas states that amongst the European element there have been 5,200 deaths in 29 days and three months, the burials averaging about seven per day, and the death-rate being 98 per 1000 per annum. In one station, amongst 159 young men specially selected for their physical vigour, 23 have died within 22 months.'—(*St. James' Gazette*, 21st December, 1888.) Mr. Froude's account of the state of things inaugurated by M. de Lesseps in Panama, in his recent book on the English in the West Indies, is to the following effect: 'In all the world there is not perhaps now concentrated in any single spot so much swindling and villany, so much foul disease, such a hideous dung heap of moral and physical abomination, as in the scene of this far-famed undertaking of nineteenth century engineering. By the scheme, as it was first propounded, six and twenty millions of English money were to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to form a highway for the commerce of the globe, and enrich with untold wealth the happy owners of original shares. The thrifty French peasantry were tempted by the golden bait, and poured their savings into M. de Lesseps' money box. Almost all that money, I was told,

had been already spent, and only a fifth of the work was done. Meanwhile the human vultures have gathered to the sport. Speculators, adventurers, card sharpers, hell keepers, and doubtful ladies have carried their charms to the delightful market. The scene of operations is a jungle, intensely hot, swarming with mosquitoes, snakes, alligators, scorpions, and centipedes; the home, even as nature has made it, of yellow fever, typhus, and dysentery; and now made immeasurably more deadly by the multitudes of people who crowd thither. Half buried in mud lie about the wrecks of costly machinery, consuming by rust, sent out under lavish orders, and found unfit for the work for which they were intended, unburied altogether lie also skeletons of the human machines which have broken down there, picked bare by the vulture.'

The reference, in the nervous English of Mr. Froude, to the 'far-famed undertaking of nineteenth century engineering,' leads us to mention the main reason which has induced us, once and again, to call attention to what M. Le Roy Beaulieu calls the greatest financial catastrophe of the century. The *Standard*, long a supporter of the scheme, thus speaks of it on the 5th of December last:—'The history of the Company has been, financially, a history of greater recklessness than can be found on the same scale in connection with any other undertaking, since *Law's* Mississippi Scheme. . . . The Panama Canal has failed through the determination of its promoters to pander to some of the most vulgar and unworthy motives that guide men's conduct. It was started amid wholesale plunderings, and all through its disastrous career the Company has been bled with the utmost shamelessness.' It may not be altogether the duty of a British journalist to take up the cudgels for the thrifty peasantry of France, misled by the hero of their blind and misplaced confidence, and animated moreover, by the idea that in opening the 'International Canal,' they were dealing a heavy blow against the United Kingdom. It is painful to witness the dissipation of hardly gained savings. But if the least attention had been given to the warnings of the British press, the catastrophe which has occurred would have been averted.

The most serious result of the Panama crash we take to be the influence that it is likely to exert in drying up one of the main springs of the prosperity of the civilised world. To say nothing of the rich harvests to be ensured by the skill of the engineer in almost every department of industry, the great economy of water carriage, with the relation of that economy to production, is a subject that, at least in the United Kingdom, is only beginning to be understood. And if, as Mr. Froude's language would seem to imply, a colossal engineering scheme of this nature had turned out a colossal robbery, the effect would naturally be to strangle industrial enterprise, and to discredit the noble profession which forms the van of the great army of industry. It is therefore of no small moment to insist on the fact, that both the Suez and the Panama Canals possess the unenviable peculiarity of having been made, not by an engineer, but by an amateur. They may be more properly called negations of engineering than engineering schemes. From the time when, in November 1854, M. de Lesseps possessed himself of the plans and studies of Messrs. Robert Stephenson, Negrelli, Talabot, and Linant, and made use of them to obtain a concession for himself, to the date of that projector's last report, published in the *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique* of 2nd February, 1889, but one single report of a competent and impartial engineer has been made on either of the two canals, which could have served as a guide to the subscribers. That single report was made at the instance of the French Government; its preparation was resisted to the uttermost by M. de Lesseps; and up to the present moment it has been carefully withheld from publication.

Following his acknowledged principles of being sole arbiter of the companies which he 'founded,' M. de Lesseps has directed every step without counsel, control, or, it may be added, knowledge of what was required. His eye has been bent steadily on the Bourse. He has never put forward a single estimate that has not been falsified by the event. For the work of a responsible engineer, he has substituted the action of what he has called consultative committees, superior councils, and the like, which have been, for the most part, little more or

less than pic-nic parties, at public cost; and with the recommendations of which he has dealt as he thought fit. He has talked of campaigns and of enemies, and has burlesqued the language of the Bulletins of Napoleon Bonaparte; when the real subject for enquiry was that of a mechanical or arithmetical nature. It is sufficient to cite his own language to show that he is either profoundly ignorant of the business of the Engineer, or has taken an advantage, which we need not qualify as it deserves, of the ignorance of others. The extravagant cost at which so simple an operation as the opening of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez was half completed is alike without precedent and without excuse. For that waste of the money of the subscribers, the promoters enjoy a revenue of upwards of £200,000 a year. In proposing a work of unexampled magnitude, without survey, plan, or estimate, or any idea of cost except such as was derived from the tone of the market, what M. de Lesseps called his estimates, varied, as we have seen, from month to month. There was absolutely no relation between any one of them and the work which it was proposed to do. The indicated total sank from 42 millions sterling in 1879 to 22 millions in 1880; sprang up to 78 millions in 1888; and as set forth by M. Paponot, would now amount to above 140 millions, for the same project of work. Not only so, but M. de Lesseps prefaced his appeal for funds by the solemn and reiterated assertion that a canal in a pestilential country, involving an excavation of between 300 and 400 feet deep exposed to a tropical rainfall, was far easier than one to be dredged through sand, with but one short section when the cutting was as much as 80 feet in depth, in a healthy and accessible locality. And one of his last utterances in 1886, was 'there will not be sufficient time for the construction of locks. We shall make them later on. The essential point is that by the date mentioned (1889) shipping shall be able to pass through the Canal.' That is to say that the costly and difficult works which were to be constructed in order to raise vessels to a height of 170 feet above the level of the sea were only to be constructed after the Canal, which depended on their agency, was completed with-

out them. After this our readers will probably come to the conclusion that M. de Lesseps would say anything that he thought convenient, and that it does not very much matter what he did say. If a career like this is to be condoned or misrepresented, it will be a blow not only to the sense of every man of honour, but to the very existence and idea of honesty.

There is, however, a certain amount of consistency in the language of M. de Lesseps for which we desire to give him the credit that it deserves. He has often promised that the Panama Canal should be finished in 1888. On the 12th December in that year he announced to his anxious subscribers, *Le Canal est fait*. The only drawback to this good news lay in its inconsistency with fact. But then, *tant pis pour les faits*.

ART. IV.—THE TENNIS COURT.

IT is curious to observe the parallel between the present financial difficulties of France, of one feature of which the previous article on the Panama Canal offers a lively exposition, and those which occasioned the convocation of the States-General and the consequent birth of the great Revolution in 1789. During the Centenary of that great event, it is our intention to publish from time to time a literally translated extract from the *Moniteur* of the time, each extract coinciding, as far as circumstances will permit, with the centenary of the event to which it relates. As the *Moniteur* was controlled by the dominant party, the reader will thus have placed before him an account not only contemporary but official, and written from the point of view of those by whom each movement was directed. The great Revolution actually began on May 4, 1789, by a solemn public procession and Mass of the Holy Ghost, held to implore the Divine Blessing upon the labours of the States-General. But of this ceremony the *Moniteur* contains no account. The first number bears the date of May 5, and begins with a report of the first session, held upon that day, including the speech from the Throne, and the statement of the Ministers as to the business to be submitted for deliberation. We give here the number con-

taining the account of the famous Session in the Tennis Court (*Jeu de Paume*), and the Royal Session which followed, which form together the first truly revolutionary episode, and after which the States-General were known as the National Assembly. It is necessary, however, to commence the narrative by translating the last half column of No. 9, commencing the account of the sitting of the House of Commons on June 20.

SESSION OF SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At an early hour in the forenoon, the public, having been informed that a majority of the members of the Clergy intended to join the National Assembly, made their way in crowds towards the common Hall. But heralds were heard making the following proclamation in the streets :

‘The King having resolved to hold a Royal Session of the States-General on Monday, the 22nd of June, the preparations to be made in the three halls used for the meetings of the respective Estates render it necessary that these meetings be adjourned until after the afore-said session shall have taken place. In a further proclamation His Majesty will make known the hour at which he is to proceed, on Monday, to the Assembly of the States.’

A detachment of French Guards takes possession of the House of Assembly.

About nine o'clock, the President of the Assembly and the two secretaries present themselves at the main entrance. They, and a great number of deputies with them, are refused admission.

The President calls for the officer on duty. The Comte de Vertan comes forward and states that his orders are to prevent access to the Hall, because of the preparations which are being made there for a Royal Session.

M. Bailly, speaking with firmness and decision, protests against a measure which prevents the opening of the sitting announced the day before and fixed for that hour, and forthwith declares the Assembly constituted.

The Comte de Vertan adds that he is empowered to allow the officials to enter for the purpose of procuring such papers as may be required. Thereupon the President and the

Secretaries go in, and observe that most of the benches have been taken away, and that all the entrances to the Hall are guarded by soldiers.

The Deputies utter bitter complaints at this outrage. Some of them, in the excess of their grief, are already anticipating the early dissolution of the States; whilst others are filled with indignation at seeing the majesty of the nation thus profaned and insulted by an act of arbitrary power, which since monarchy was established on a firm basis, and even under the most oppressive reigns, was altogether unparalleled.

Gathered together in groups in the Avenue de Versailles, they ask each other what is to be done under the painful circumstances. Here they cry: 'Let us all go to Marly! Let us go and hold a session in front of the Chateau itself! Let us strike into the hearts of our enemies the same terror with which they have filled ours, and make them tremble in their turn! The King has announced a Royal Session, but puts it off till Monday; the delay is too long. He shall hold it at once; he shall come down from his Chateau, and have nothing further to do than to place himself in the midst of his people!'

[Here ends No. 9 with the words: 'To be continued in our next.' No. 10, bearing the date of June 20th to 24th, contains, under the heading of 'States-General,' the

CONTINUATION OF THE SITTING OF SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH.]

In another place they exclaim: 'What! Do they intend to dissolve the States? Does the Government want to plunge the country into the horrors of a civil war? Scarcity prevails everywhere, and everywhere is the dread of approaching famine. For the last two years French blood has been reddening the earth. We were going to put an end to these misfortunes, to lift the thick veil behind which the monopolists hide their intrigues, to clear the Government itself from the charge of having starved the people, and to prove that the two hundred millions which are in the royal treasury are not the proceeds of this crime; and now the Government steps in to prevent us.

'If our annals are opened, it will be seen that men like Louis XI., Louis XIII., Richelieu, Mazarin, Brienne, attacked, harassed, and oppressed corporations and individuals; but is it

now thought that twelve hundred Deputies chosen by the nation are to be made subject to the caprice, to the fickle and vacillating policy of a despotic minister ?'

Such are the various feelings of the Deputies who, in the midst of those who surround them—travellers who pause to contemplate the sight, men of the people who gather in crowds—frankly and freely express their opinion.

Some propose that they should assemble in the *Place d'Armes*. It is there, they say, that we must rehearse the glorious days of our history ; it is there that we will hold our *Campus Martii*.

Others talk of holding their meeting in the ante-chamber, and, as a new spectacle, uttering the language of Liberty on the threshold of that sinister Hall where, but a short time ago, the head of whoever dared to pronounce the sacred word was marked out for the executioner. At that moment notice is given to the Deputies that M. Bailly, with the two secretaries and a score of members, has obtained admission to the Hall in order to procure the papers which had been left there the day before, and gone to the Tennis Court of the Rue St. François, which he has fixed upon as the place of assembly.

Session of the Tennis Court.

The various knots of Deputies gather together, and proceed to the place appointed by the President.

The President gives an account of what has taken place, and communicates two letters which he has that morning received from the Grand Master of Ceremonies, the Marquis de Brezé :

'Versailles, this 20th day of June, 1789.

'Sir,—The King having commanded me to cause proclamation to be made by heralds of His Majesty's intention to hold, on Monday, the 22nd day of this month, a Royal Session, and, at the same time, of the necessity of suspending the sittings owing to the preparations which have to be carried out in the halls of the three Orders, I have the honour to make this known to you.

'I am respectfully, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) 'LE MARQUIS DE BREZÉ.'

'P.S.—I think it would be advisable, Sir, that you should have the kindness to entrust the Secretaries with the care of putting away the papers, lest any of them should go astray.

'Would you, also, be good enough to let me have the names of the Secretaries, so that I may give instructions for their admission, the necessity of not interrupting the pressing work now going on not admitting of indiscriminate access to the halls.'

To this letter the President states that he made answer in the following terms:

'Sir,—I have as yet received no order from the King, with reference either to the Royal Session or to the suspension of the sittings, and it is my duty to proceed with that which I have fixed for eight o'clock this morning.

'I am, &c.'

In reply to this communication, the Marquis de Brezé wrote a second time, and to this purport:

'Versailles, this 20th day of June, 1789.

'Sir,—It was by a formal order of the King's that I had the honour of writing to you this morning, and of informing you that His Majesty wishing to hold, on Monday, a Royal Session for which preparations require to be made in the three Chambers of the Estates, it was his intention that no one should be permitted to enter them, and that the sittings should be suspended until after that to be held by His Majesty.

'I am respectfully, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) 'LE MARQUIS DE BREZÉ.'

M. BAILLY: 'I need not point out how painful is the situation in which the Assembly now finds itself. I propose that we now consider the course it is requisite to adopt at so critical a juncture.'

M. Mounier expresses an opinion which is supported by M. M. Target, Chapelier, and Barnave. He shows how strange it is that the Hall of the States-General should be occupied by armed men; that no other place should have been put at the disposal of the National Assembly; that its President should have received no other notice than that contained in the Marquis de Brezé's letters, and the National Representatives none but that conveyed by the placards; and, finally, that, in order not to interrupt their labours they should be obliged to meet in the Tennis Court of the Rue du Vieux-Versailles. And he submits that, in consequence of this violation of their rights and insult to their dignity, as well as in their consciousness of the relentless and unscrupulous intrigues by which it is

endeavoured to drive the King to the adoption of disastrous measures, the Representatives of the Nation should bind themselves, by a solemn oath, to watch over the public safety and the interests of the country.

Approval of this motion is signified by unanimous acclamation. The Assembly at once adopts the following resolution :

‘The National Assembly, considering that it is called upon to establish the constitution of the realm, to restore public order, and to maintain the true principles of monarchy, and that nothing can prevent it from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be obliged to constitute itself ; and that, finally, wheresoever its members are met together there the National Assembly itself is :

‘Resolves that all the members of the Assembly shall forthwith take a solemn oath never to separate, and to meet wherever circumstances may require, until the constitution of the realm be firmly established on a secure foundation ; and that, after the aforesaid oath shall have been taken, all the members, and each of them individually, shall confirm by his signature this irrevocable resolution.’

M. BAILLY : ‘I request on behalf of the Secretaries and on my own, that we be allowed to take the oath first.’

This they do forthwith in the following formula :

‘We swear never to separate ourselves from the National Assembly, and to meet wherever circumstances may require until the constitution of the realm be firmly established on a secure foundation.’

The President then administers the same oath to every member.

The Deputies for the Colony of St. Domingo come forward and request permission to unite themselves provisionally to the nation, by taking the same oath.

The President having informed the Assembly that the Committee of Verification has unanimously recommended the provisional admission of the twelve Deputies from St. Domingo, the Assembly grants the request, and they take the same oath.

This ceremony is followed by applause and by repeated and general cries of ‘Long live the King.’

After the oath has been taken, the Marquis de Gouy, addressing the meeting, says :

‘The Colony of St. Domingo was very young when it gave in its allegiance to Louis XIV. ; to-day, richer and more brilliant, it places itself under the protection of the National Assembly.’

The roll of the bailiwicks, stewartries (*sénéchaussées*), provinces, and townships is then called over in alphabetical order, and each member answers, advances to the table and signs.

M. CAMUS: 'I have to inform the Assembly that M. Martin of Auch, in the bailiwick of Castelnaudary, has signed 'opposer.'

A general cry of indignation is heard.

M. BAILLY: 'I move that the opposer's reasons be heard.'

M. MARTIN: 'I declare that I do not consider it in my power to swear that I will carry out resolutions which are not sanctioned by the King.'

THE PRESIDENT: 'The Assembly has already expressed the same principle in its addresses and its deliberations, and it is the desire and intention of all its members to acknowledge the necessity of the King's sanction in the case of all resolutions bearing upon the constitution and upon legislation.'

The opposer persists in his views, and the Assembly decides that his signature shall be allowed to remain on the roll in proof of the liberty of opinion.

The calling of the roll and the signing of the resolution are over by half-past four.

M. Le Chapelier rises to urge not only the expediency, but even the absolute necessity of informing the King of the grief which the Assembly feels at this occurrence. In his opinion the address [to be adopted for this purpose] should let His Majesty know that the enemies of the country are constantly besetting the throne, and that their advice is tending to place the Monarch at the head of a party.

The feeling of a great many members is that these expressions are too strong.

M. Mounier submits that M. Le Chapelier's address does not represent the views of the Assembly. He acknowledges, he says, that formalities have been roughly dealt with, and that, indeed, but little decency has been shown in the matter; that no motives and no pretexts can hamper the National Assembly, but that, in this respect, it has fully avenged itself for the want of consideration of which it has to complain; he adds, that in fact, the last speaker has gone too far in making use of the words 'enemies of the country' before knowing the result of

the Royal Session. He is of opinion that it is befitting to keep such a weapon as this in reserve so as to be able to have recourse to it at a more opportune moment. He proposes a more moderate address in which the Assembly shall express the surprise and the pain which it feels at having been refused admittance to the hall appointed for the meetings of the National Assembly, at the very moment when a junction with the Clergy was about to be effected.

M. M. Barnave and Gouy-d'Arcy are also in favour of an amendment. But, the Assembly does not deem it advisable to enter upon a discussion of the subject. It decides that the resolution carried in the morning and the minutes of the meeting shall at once be printed.

The Assembly adjourns to Monday 22nd, at the usual hour, and resolves further, that if the Royal Session takes place in the National Hall, all the members shall, for the purpose of continuing their usual deliberations and labours, remain in the Hall after such Session has been closed.

The meeting terminates at six o'clock.

In accordance with the terms of the proclamation announcing the forthcoming Royal Session the Estates of the Nobility and of the Clergy have suspended their sittings.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21ST.

This evening, at six o'clock, a deputation consisting of forty-three members of the Nobility, was received by His Majesty. The Duc de Luxembourg, as president, was the spokesman.

The King's reply was as follows :—

‘Patriotism and the love of its Kings have always been the distinguishing marks of the French Nobility. I accept with pleasure the renewed assurances which you now give me of these sentiments. I recognise the rights which birth has conferred upon your Order, and I shall also know how to maintain, in the interest of my subjects, the authority which has been entrusted to me, and will never allow it to be interfered with. I depend upon your zeal for your country, as well as on your attachment to my person, and confiding in your loyalty I expect that you will adopt the conciliatory measures on which

I am now intent, for the benefit of my people. In this manner you will further add to the claim which you already possess to their love and their respect.'

SESSION OF MONDAY 22ND OF JUNE; MORNING.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the Church of Saint Louis.

This morning at eight o'clock the heralds announced by proclamation that the Royal Sitting was postponed till to-morrow, the 23rd.

Admission to the Royal Hall being still prevented by sentries, the members of the Assembly met first at the church of the Recollets, and subsequently in that of Saint Louis which afforded a larger and more convenient place of meeting.

About eleven o'clock, the Assembly having been constituted in the nave, M. Bailly makes known that, two hours after midnight, a herald had brought him a letter from the King, in His Majesty's own handwriting, conceived in the following terms:—

'To M. Bailly, President of the Order of the Third Estate.

'Sir,—I inform you that the sitting which I had announced for Monday will not take place until Tuesday, at ten o'clock in the morning, and that the hall will not be opened till then.

(Signed) LOUIS.'

'21st June, 1789.

'I have commissioned the Grand Master of Ceremonies to deliver this letter to you.'

In forwarding the King's letter to M. Bailly, M. de Brezé wrote to him in these words:

'Sir,—I have the honour to send on to you a letter which the King has commanded me to deliver to you. I beg you will kindly acknowledge receipt of it.

'I am respectfully, M. le President, yours, &c.,

(Signed) LE MARQUIS DE BREZÉ.'

M. Bailly's Answer.

'Sir,—I have received the King's letter which was addressed to me, and which His Majesty commissioned you to forward to me.

'I have the honour to be, Sir, yours &c.,

(Signed) BAILLY.

The minutes of the meeting held on Saturday, June 20th, in the Tennis Court are read. After this has been done, those members of the National Assembly who by reason of absence or illness had been unable to take part in Saturday's meeting are admitted to take the oath. Several gentlemen acting as substitutes (*suppléants*) having also come forward and asked to be allowed to signify their adhesion to the resolution by affixing their signature to it, the Assembly grants their request.

About half-past twelve M. Bailly announces that he has just been informed of the intention of a majority of the Clergy to come to the Assembly at one o'clock, and requests any ecclesiastics who may be present to join them at the residence of the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

The members of the National Assembly who occupied the seats at the upper end of the nave, nearest the sanctuary, at once hastened to give them up, as being the most honourable.

A few moments later, M. Laffon de Landebat, in the name of those who have raised opposition to the mandate and the election of the noble deputies for the Stewartry of Bordeaux requests that he and his fellow-deputies be admitted, and that the matter at issue be settled by the National Assembly.

The National Assembly allows M. de Landebat to take instruments of his request, and refers the settlement of the dispute with regard to the powers of these Deputies to the Committee of Verification.

About two o'clock the Clergy assemble in the choir of St. Louis's Church for the purpose of calling over the roll of the hundred and forty-nine Deputies of the Clergy who, on Friday, the 19th of June, signed the declaration in favour of verification in common.

Whilst the list is being read loud applause greets the mention of the names of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Chartres, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishop of Rhodéz, Thibault, incumbent (*curé*) of Souppes, Grégoire (d'Embermenil), and three other incumbents, Deputies from Poitou, who were the first to set the patriotic example of joining the Third Estate. After the roll has been called, the Clergy send a deputation, at the head of which is the

Bishop of Chartres, who announces that a majority of the Estate of the Clergy having resolved to unite for a common verification of powers, he has been commissioned to make this known to the Assembly, and to request for them admission to the National Hall.

The President replies that the Deputies of the Estate of the Clergy will be gladly received, with all the respect due to them, and informs them that their usual place of precedence is free for them to occupy.

A moment later, M. de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne enters, followed by three prelates and by all the other ecclesiastics who compose the majority, and all of them proceed to the place which has been appointed them.

The silence which prevailed when the gates of the choir were opened is soon interrupted by applause and universal acclamation. In the midst of this touching scene the Archbishop of Vienne rises and says :

‘Gentlemen.—We come with pleasure to give effect to the resolution adopted by a majority of the Estate of the Clergy in the States-General. This meeting, which, to-day, has for its sole object the common verification of powers, is the signal and, I may say, the prelude of the constant union which they desire to maintain with the other Estates and particularly with that of the honourable Deputies of the Commons.’

THE PRESIDENT :—‘Gentlemen. You behold the joy and the acclamations which your presence calls forth from this Assembly. They are the outcome of the purest sentiments, of our desire for union and of our anxiety for the public weal. You have left the sanctuary, Gentlemen, to take your place in this National Assembly where you were awaited with so much impatience. As the result of a deliberation over which a spirit of justice and of peace presided, you have voted the union which was so ardently desired. France will bless this memorable day, and will inscribe your names in the annals of our country; more particularly will she remember those worthy ecclesiastics who preceded you and whose announcement of your intended coming promised us the fulfilment of

our most earnest desires. How great is the pleasure which this affords us, Gentlemen! That good work which is the wish of our hearts and to which we will now apply ourselves with courage and perseverance, will be performed with your co-operation and in your presence; it will be the fruit of peace and of fraternal love.

‘But all our desires are not yet fulfilled. I notice with regret that brethren of another Estate are absent from this august family. Nevertheless, this day is a day of happiness for the National Assembly; and, if I may be allowed to refer to my own personal feelings, the most glorious day of my life will be that on which I have beheld this union, on which I have had the honour of welcoming you in the name of this august Assembly, of giving expression to its feelings and of conveying to you its congratulations.’

THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNE: ‘I now lay upon the table the printed list of the members of the Clergy who have voted for the common verification of common powers.’

The President proposes that the Clergy be invited to appoint sixteen of their own members whose powers are already, or will be immediately, verified, to join the Committee of Verification, in order that they may take part in examining and reporting upon the writs which still remain to be verified, as well as upon those of which the verification will be given in by the Clergy.

This proposal having been accepted by the Assembly, the members appointed are the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Deputy for the Stewartry of Bordeaux; the *abbé* d’Abbecourt, Deputy for the viscounty of Paris; the *abbé* de Villeneuve, Deputy for Marseilles; the *abbé* Charrier de la Roche, provost, incumbent of Ainay, Deputy for Lyons; Gouttes, incumbent of Argilliers.

The Archbishop of Vienne requests, in the name of his Order, that the report on the verification of powers be communicated to them, in order that they may take cognisance of it, and make upon it such remarks as circumstances may require.

The Assembly orders this to be done.

M. TARGET: 'Gentlemen. On this day, which will ever be held sacred in the remembrance of men, on this day which it seems to have been the will of Providence to render more solemn by making the temple of Religion a temple of the Fatherland, it is our duty at once to communicate to the best of Kings an event of such happy augury to our country. I ask you, therefore, Gentlemen, to vote that the honourable list which the Clergy have just handed in to you be forwarded to the King as a token of our respect and a pledge of public happiness.'

THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX: 'We have some worthy brethren who are not here. They will comply with the wishes of the nation; we beg of you to postpone this expression of patriotism, so as to give them an opportunity to join us.'

The Marquis de Blacons and M. d'Agoult, Deputies for the nobility of Dauphiné, present themselves for the purpose of having their powers verified in common. They are received with enthusiastic applause.

THE MARQUIS DE BLACONS: 'Gentlemen, the union of the greater part of the Clergy having removed the difficulties which had arisen with regard to our mandates, we now come forward to request that our powers be verified in common, and that information be given us with regard to those which have already been verified.'

M. de Blacons and M. d'Agoult thereupon lay their writs on the table. The Assembly remits to the Committee of Verification to examine and report upon them.

The sitting is adjourned, and will be continued to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, in the usual place of meeting.

CLERGY.

The members of the Clergy who were of opinion that the verification should take place in common, met at the residence of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, for the purpose of afterwards proceeding, at one o'clock, to the Parish Church of St. Louis, where the Commons were assembled. They were to the number of one hundred and forty-nine. They had previously

sent four deputies to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld with the following declaration :

‘The final vote in connection with the question discussed last Friday by the Deputies of the Clergy having established the fact that a majority of voices had been given in favour of a common verification of powers, those who had given their support to this view were awaiting the moment when all the Deputies of the Estate should be assembled, in order to consult as to the means of giving effect to their resolution.

‘An unforeseen event has put off the sitting which was to have taken place, and this Royal Session is postponed till to-morrow, Tuesday.

‘The Order of the Third Estate is at this moment assembling in the Church of Saint Louis ; the majority of the Clergy, therefore, intend to avail themselves of this opportunity for the purpose of carrying out their resolution, so that the two Estates being united may proceed to the common verification of their powers, pending such time as they may be joined by the honourable members of the Estate of the Nobility.

‘The majority of the Clergy hasten to make known their intention to the Very Reverend and Reverend Deputies of the Clergy ; and, before proceeding to the common place of meeting which, for the present day, is within the Church of St. Louis, will all assemble at one o'clock in the choir of the aforesaid Church of St. Louis.’

ROYAL SESSION.

TUESDAY, THE 23RD OF JUNE.

At the hour appointed the Deputies proceeded to the ordinary place of assembly. The hall was surrounded by numerous guards. Barriers had been put up. In the adjoining streets and in the *Avenue de Paris* detachments from the French, Swiss, Municipal, and *Marechaussée* Guards had been stationed.

The doors having been thrown open, the two privileged Estates were first admitted to take their places. The members of the National Assembly were obliged to wait for more than an hour, most of them in the rain. The National Assembly expressed their discontent by repeated murmurs. The two Secretaries went to make formal complaint of the impropriety of this long delay.

A general withdrawal was being discussed, when M. de Brezé made his appearance. The President informed him that

he would complain to the King of the disrespect shown by the Master of Ceremonies. At half-past ten, the members of the National Assembly entered two by two, in the deepest silence. The public had been strictly excluded.

The throne stood at the extremity of the Hall; the Clergy were on the right, and the Nobility on the left. On either side of the passage running down the middle, the Members of the National Assembly took their places, which extended to the back of the Hall. The four heralds and the king-at-arms took up their position in the centre. The throne was raised on a platform, which occupied one end of the hall, as far as the second pillar. Below this platform and around a table, the Ministers were seated: one chair alone was unoccupied; it was M. Necker's.

About eleven o'clock the King left his Palace. The royal carriage was preceded and followed by the falconers, pages, and esquires, as well as by four companies of the Body-Guards.

The King enters the Hall, accompanied by the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes and Peers, and the Captains of the Body-Guard. On his arrival, the Deputies rise, and then resume their seats.

In an address expressed in the following terms, the King makes known the object of the session:—

‘Gentlemen. I thought I had done all that lay within my power for the welfare of my people when I had resolved upon convening you, when I had overcome all the difficulties attending your convocation, and when, by indicating what I intended to do for the happiness of the nation, I had, so to speak, gone out to meet its wishes.

‘There seemed to be nothing further left for you to do but to complete my work, and the nation was impatiently awaiting the moment when the beneficent intentions of its sovereign and the enlightened zeal of its representatives would, by their mutual co-operation, enable it to enjoy that prosperity which such a union could not fail to procure.

‘The States-General have now been opened for nearly two months, and they have not yet been able to agree as to the

preliminaries of their business. Love for our common country should, of itself, have proved sufficient to bring about a perfect understanding, but the unhappy differences which have arisen are a source of alarm to every mind. I wish to believe, and I fondly cling to the thought, that Frenchmen are still what they were. But, to avoid making reproaches to any of you, I am willing to suppose that, if opposition, disagreements, and exaggerated claims have arisen, it is due, amongst other circumstances, to the long interval which has elapsed since the States-General last met, to the excitement which has preceded this convocation, to the object for which recourse has been had to it, and which is so different from that which brought your ancestors together, and to the restrictions which have been imposed on your powers.

‘I owe it to the common welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself to put an end to these fatal dissensions. It is with this intent, Gentlemen, that I have again assembled you around me. It is as the common father of all my subjects, it is as the defender of the laws of my kingdom that I have come here to set forth the true spirit of these laws, and to repress any attempt to violate them.’

‘But, Gentlemen, after having clearly laid down the respective rights of each Estate, I expect from the love of their country which animates the first two of these Estates, I expect from the affection which they bear me, I expect from the knowledge which they have of the evils from which the State is suffering, that, in matters regarding the common weal, they will be the first to propose that union of counsels and of sentiments, which I consider necessary in the present crisis, and by which alone the safety of the State is to be effected.’

The following declaration is then read by one of the Secretaries of State:—

Declaration of the King concerning the holding of the present States-General.

I. It is the King's will that the ancient distinction between the three Estates be maintained in its entirety, as being essentially bound up with the constitution of his kingdom; and that the Deputies freely chosen by each of these three Estates, forming three Chambers, deliberating Estate by Estate, but having the power, subject to the royal sanction, of agreeing

to deliberate in common, shall alone be considered as forming the representative body of the Nation. Consequently, the King has annulled, as being illegal and unconstitutional, the resolutions passed by the Deputies of the Third Estate, on the 17th of the present month, as well as any others which may have resulted therefrom.

II. His Majesty declares the validity of all the powers which have already been, or which are to be, verified in each Chamber, and with regard to which no opposition has been, or will be, raised; and His Majesty commands that the respective Estates shall communicate to each other the result of such verification.

With regard to those powers in reference to which opposition may be raised in any of the Estates, and as to which the parties interested may make appeal, provision shall be made, for the present session of the States-General only, in such way as is here-after to be set forth.

III. The King sets aside and annuls, as being unconstitutional, contrary to the letters of convocation, and opposed to the interests of the State, any restriction of powers which, by hampering the liberty of the Deputies of the States-General, might prevent them from adopting the forms of deliberation agreed upon, either separately by each Estate, or, in common, in accordance with the express wish of the three Estates.

IV. If, contrary to the wishes of the King, any of the Deputies have taken a rash oath not to depart from any one special form of deliberation, His Majesty leaves it to their conscience to decide whether the regulations which he is going to set forth are not in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the engagement by which they have bound themselves.

V. The King allows such Deputies as shall consider themselves hampered by their mandates to apply for fresh powers to their constituents; but His Majesty directs them to remain, in the meantime, with the States-General, so as to take part, but with consultative voice only, in all deliberations on urgent State affairs.

VI. His Majesty declares that, in future sessions of the States-General, he will not allow that the *cahiers* or mandates be considered imperative. They are to be nothing more than instructions entrusted to the conscience and the free opinion of the Deputies who may have been chosen.

VII. His Majesty having, for the welfare of the State, exhorted the three Estates to unite, during the present session only, in order to consult in common upon matters of general utility, wishes to make known his intention as to the manner in which this may be done.

VIII. All matters bearing upon the ancient and constitutional rights of the three Estates, the special constitution to be given to the next States-General, feus, the beneficiary privileges and honorific prerogatives of the first two Estates, shall be expressly excluded from the number of those which may be dealt with in common.

IX. The special consent of the Clergy shall be necessary in the case of

all measures which may affect religion, ecclesiastical discipline, or the management of religious orders and bodies, both secular and regular.

X. Any decision to be arrived at by the three Estates together, in reference to any writ to which opposition may be raised, and as to which the parties interested may appeal to the States-General, shall be carried by a majority of votes; but if two-thirds of the members of any one Estate protest against the finding of the Assembly, the matter shall be submitted to the King, and be finally settled by His Majesty.

XI. If, with a view to facilitating their union, the three Estates should wish that the resolutions which they may have to pass in common, should not be carried by any majority of less than two-thirds of the votes, His Majesty is disposed to authorise this arrangement.

XII. Any matters with regard to which a decision may have been arrived at by a meeting of the three Estates, shall again be brought up for discussion on the next day, if a hundred members of the Assembly unite in a request to this effect.

XIII. With a view to promoting a spirit of conciliation, the King wishes that, on the present occasion, the three Chambers should separately proceed to the nomination of a commission composed of any number of Deputies they may deem fit, which shall make arrangements for the organization and distribution of standing committees to transact the different branches of public business.

XIV. The general assembly of the Deputies of the three Estates shall be presided over by the presidents chosen by each Estate, and in accordance with their ordinary rank.

XV. The maintenance of order, propriety, and even the freedom of debate itself, requires that His Majesty should forbid, as he hereby expressly does forbid, that any person, not being a member of one of the three Estates which compose the States-General, should be present at any of the deliberations, whether they be carried on separately or in common.

The King again addresses the Assembly:—

‘It has been my wish, Gentlemen, also to lay before you the various benefits which I am conferring upon my people. This is not with the intention of circumscribing your zeal within the circle which I am about to trace; for I shall adopt with pleasure any other proposal which the States-General may make for the public good. I may say, without deceiving myself, that no king ever did so much for any nation; but what nation has proved itself more deserving of it than the French nation has by its sentiments? Nor do I hesitate to add that those who, by putting forward exaggerated claims or by raising inopportune difficulties, may further delay the carry-

ing out of my paternal intentions, will show themselves unworthy to be considered Frenchmen.'

This speech is followed by the reading of the following Declaration:—

Declaration of the King's Intentions.

I. No new tax shall be imposed, and no existing tax shall be continued beyond the term fixed by law, without the consent of the Representatives of the Nation.

II. Any new burdens which may be imposed, or any old ones which may be continued, shall be in force only during the interval to elapse between the present and the next session of the States-General.

III. As loans may possibly lead to a necessary increase of taxation, none shall be raised without the consent of the States-General, subject to the condition, however, that in the event of a war or any other national danger, the Sovereign shall be empowered to borrow at once to the amount of one hundred millions; for it is the King's formal intention never to allow the safety of his empire to depend upon any other than himself.

IV. The States-General shall carefully examine the state of the finances, and shall make whatever enquiries may be necessary to afford them the fullest information.

V. Returns of income and expenditure shall be published yearly, according to a form to be proposed by the States-General, and approved by His Majesty.

VI. The sum to be assigned to each department shall be fixed and unvarying, and to this general rule the King subjects even the funds destined to the support of his own household.

VII. For the purpose of securing this fixity of expenditure in the several departments of the State, it is the King's wish that the States-General should inform him as to the provisions suitable to be made, and His Majesty will adopt them, provided they be compatible with the royal dignity and with that despatch which is indispensable in the public service.

VIII. The representatives of a nation faithful to the laws of honour and of probity will do nothing that can affect the public credit, and the King expects of them that they will afford every guarantee and every security that can inspire confidence in those who have claims on the State.

IX. When the formal intention announced by the Clergy and the Nobility, of renouncing their pecuniary privileges shall have been given effect to by their votes, the King purposes to give it his sanction, so that no further distinction or immunities may exist in the payment of pecuniary contributions.

X. In order to give binding and lasting force to this important measure, it is the King's will that the name of "*taille*"* be abolished throughout the

* Poll-tax on feuars.

whole Kingdom, that this tax be incorporated either in that of the *vingtièmes* or in some other territorial impost, and that, whether it be replaced in this or in any other manner, it shall be levied on a just, equal, and proportional basis, without distinction of condition, rank, or birth.

XI. It is the King's will that the duty charged on *franc-fiefs* be abolished as soon as the income and the fixed expenditure of the State shall have been equally balanced.

XII. Property of every kind shall everywhere and always be respected ; and under the name of property, His Majesty expressly includes the tithes, quit-rents, rents, feu-duties, and generally all rights and prerogatives, both beneficiary and honorific attached to lands and fiefs or belonging to individuals.

XIII. The two first Estates of the Realm shall continue to enjoy exemption from personal service ; but the King will consent that the States-General shall devise means for the conversion of services of this kind into pecuniary contributions which shall then be levied equally from all the Orders of the State.

XIV. It is the King's intention to determine, according to such advice as the States-General may give, what appointments and offices shall, for the future, retain the privilege of conferring and transmitting nobility. But, His Majesty, in conformity with the right inherent in the Crown, will nevertheless grant letters patent to those of his subjects, who, by services rendered to the King and to the State, shall have shown themselves worthy of such reward.

XV. The King wishing to assure in a firm and lasting manner the individual liberty of every citizen, invites the States-General to devise and to lay before him the most suitable means of reconciling the abolition of the warrants known under the name of *lettres de cachet* * with the maintenance of public security and with the precautions necessary as well for guarding the honour of families, in certain cases, and for quickly repressing the beginnings of sedition, as also for protecting the State from the result of any treasonable intercourse with foreign powers.

XVI. The States-General will examine and make known to His Majesty the most suitable means for reconciling the liberty of the press with the respect due to religion, morality and the honour of the citizens.

XVII. There shall be established in the various provinces and generalities States Provincial of which two-tenths shall be chosen from the members of the Clergy, of whom a part shall, of necessity, belong to the episcopal order ; three-tenths from members of the Nobility ; and five-tenths from members of the third Estate.

XVIII. The members of these States Provincial shall be freely chosen by the respective Orders, and both elective franchise and eligibility shall depend on a certain property qualification.

* i.e., Arbitrary warrants for arrest by the royal authority only.

XIX. The members deputed to these States Provincial shall deliberate in common on all business, according to the custom of the Provincial Assemblies which these States shall supersede.

XX. An intermediate commission, chosen by these States, shall administer the affairs of the province during the interval between one session and another, and these intermediate commissions being alone responsible for the management of such business, shall have as delegates persons chosen either by themselves alone or by the States Provincial.

XXI. The States-General shall lay before the King their views concerning any further details of the internal organization of the States Provincial, as well as concerning the arrangement of such formalities as shall seem suitable for the election of the members of this Assembly.

XXII. Independently of the administrative business committed to the provincial Assemblies, the King will entrust the States Provincial with the management of hospitals, prisons, work-houses, and foundling-homes; with the supervision of the expenditure of towns; with the preservation and maintenance of forests, with the custody and sale of the wood proceeding therefrom, and with any other business which can be most conveniently administered by the provinces.

XXIII. Any disagreements which may arise in the provinces where ancient States are in existence, and any protests which may be made with regard to the constitution of these assemblies, will demand the attention of the States-General; they will make known to the King what measure it may seem to them suitable to adopt, in conformity with prudence and justice, for the purpose of establishing a fixed order in the administration of these same provinces.

XXIV. The King invites the States-General to apply themselves to devising suitable means for using to the best advantage the domains which are in his own hands, and to lay before him their views as to what it is advisable to do with regard to such domains as are mortgaged.

XXV. The States-General will consider the project which His Majesty has long entertained, of levying all customs at the frontiers of the Kingdom, so that the most perfect liberty may be given to the circulation within it of both home and foreign produce.

XXVI. His Majesty desires that the unfortunate effect of the duty upon salt, as well as the importance of this source of income, be carefully discussed, and that a means of at least lightening the levying of it be included in any scheme proposed.

XXVII. It is also His Majesty's will that the advantages and disadvantages of the subsidies and other imposts be also attentively examined, but without losing sight of the necessity of establishing an exact balance between the income and the expenditure of the State.

XXVIII. According to the intention expressed by the King in his declaration of the 23rd of last September, His Majesty will examine with serious attention any projects which may be submitted to him with

reference to the administration of justice and the means of perfecting the civil and criminal law.

XXIX. It is the King's will that throughout the whole extent of his realm, no delay and no obstacle be offered to the registration and the execution of such laws as shall be promulgated during the session of the States-General, in accordance with their advice or in conformity with their wishes.

XXX. It is His Majesty's will that the employment of statute-labour (*corvée*) for the making and maintenance of roads be wholly and for ever abolished in his kingdom.

XXXI. The King desires that the abolition of the right of mortmain, of which His Majesty has set the example in his own domains, be extended to the whole of France; and that proposals be submitted to him as to the means of providing for any compensation which may be due to such nobles as possess this right.

XXXII. His Majesty will shortly make known to the States-General the regulations which he is considering with a view to restricting the paramountships (*capitaineries*),* and thus giving, in a matter which most nearly concerns his own personal enjoyment, a new proof of his love for his people.

XXXIII. The King invites the States-General to consider, in all its bearings, the system of conscription for the militia, and to devise such means as may reconcile what is due to the safety of the State, with the relief which it is His Majesty's desire to be able to grant his subjects.

XXXIV. It is the King's will that there shall be no power ever to alter, without the separate consent of each of the three Estates, any measures affecting public order or the welfare of the people, to which His Majesty

* 'The *Capitaineries*,' says Arthur Young, 'were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the King to Princes of the Blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manorial rights to the game within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries*, it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleasure, over the whole country, to the destruction of crops; and to the peopling of the galleys by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children. The game in the *capitainerie* of Monceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 liv. (over £7,000) per annum.' Tr.

shall have given the sanction of his authority during the present session of the States-General; and His Majesty places them, before-hand, on the footing of a national property, for which, as for every kind of property, he wishes to ensure absolute safety.

XXXV. After having called upon the States-General to apply themselves, in concert with him, to these great schemes of public utility, as well as to all which can contribute to the welfare of his people, His Majesty declares most expressly that he intends to retain in all its entirety, and without the least limitation, the constitution of the army, as well as all authority, power, and right of supervision which the kings of France have ever enjoyed over the military establishment."

Before withdrawing the King pronounces a third discourse, which we transcribe:

'You have just heard, Gentlemen, the result of my arrangements and of my views; they are in conformity with the anxious desire which I have of promoting the public welfare. And if, through some fatality which I am far from anticipating, you leave me alone in this noble enterprise, I will effect alone the welfare of my people, I will deem myself alone their true representative; but, knowing the purport of your instructions (*cahiers*), knowing the perfect accord which exists between the desire of the majority of the nation and my benevolent intentions, I shall feel all the confidence which such rare harmony must inspire, and I shall walk onwards towards the object which I have set myself with all the courage and all the firmness with which such an object should inspire me.

'Remember, Gentlemen, that none of your projects, none of your provisions can have legal force without my special assent. I am, consequently, the natural guardian of your respective rights; and all the Orders of the State may depend upon my equitable impartiality.

'Any want of confidence on your part would be a great injustice. So far, I alone have worked for the good of my people. Perhaps it is rare that the sole ambition of a King should be to induce his subjects to agree to accept his benefits.

'I command you, Gentlemen, to separate at once, and to proceed to-morrow morning, each to the Chamber appointed

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'I command you, Gentlemen, to separate at once, and to proceed to-morrow morning, each to the Chamber appointed

for his Order, for the purpose of resuming your sittings. I consequently order the Grand Master of Ceremonies to have the chambers prepared.'

After the King's departure the Deputies of the Nobility and some of the Clergy withdraw. All the members of the National Assembly and several *curés* remain immovable in their seats.

Shortly after, the Marquis de Brezé approaches the President and says:

'Gentlemen, you have heard the King's intentions.'

The Comte de Mirabeau rises, and with indignant tones and gestures answers thus:

'Yes, Sir, we have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the King; and you, who cannot be an organ of communication between him and the States-General; you who have neither place nor right of speech here, you are not the man to remind us of his discourse. Nevertheless, to avoid every misunderstanding and every delay, I declare that if you have been instructed to send us hence, you must go and get orders to use force; for we will leave our places only by the force of bayonets.'

With one voice the Deputies cried out: 'Such is the will of the Assembly.'

The Grand Master of Ceremonies retires.

A solemn silence reigns throughout the Assembly.

M. CAMUS: 'The power of the Deputies who compose this Assembly has been recognised. It has also been admitted that a free nation cannot be taxed without its consent. You have consequently done what it was your duty to do. If, at the very outset, impediments are thrown in our way, what are we to expect for the future! We are bound to abide, firmly and unreservedly by all our former resolutions.'

M. BARNAVE: 'The steps which you are to take depend upon your position. Your resolutions depend upon yourselves alone. You have declared what you are; you have no need of sanction. To you alone is it competent to impose taxes. You have been sent by the nation to be the interpreters of its wishes and for the purpose of establishing a constitution; you are bound to remain assembled as long as you shall deem it necessary for

the interests of your constituents. It befits your dignity to insist on retaining the title of 'National Assembly.'

M. GLEZEN, *Deputy for Rennes*, having referred to the indiscreet applause of some of the members of the two first Estates, adds: 'Absolute power is in the mouth of this best of Kings, in the mouth of a Sovereign who acknowledges that the people should make its own laws. It is a Bed of Justice* which has been held in the midst of this National Assembly; the King has spoken as a master when it was his duty to ask for advice. Let the aristocracy triumph; it has but a single day. The King will soon be enlightened. The greatness of our courage will equal the magnitude of the crisis. We must be ready to die for our country. The resolutions which you have passed, Gentlemen, are wise. An arbitrary act of authority must not intimidate you.'

M. M. Pétion de Villeneuve, Buzot, Garat senior, the *abbé* Sieyès, and the *abbé* Grégoire, support in energetic terms the course which has been proposed.

The members having been called upon to signify assent or dissent by rising or remaining seated, it is seen to be the unanimous decision of the National Assembly, that the resolutions previously passed be upheld.

THE COMTE DE MIRABEAU: 'On this day I bless Liberty for producing such glorious fruits in the National Assembly. Let us give security to the result of our labours by declaring the inviolability of the Deputies to the States-General. This is no indication of fear; it is an act of prudence; it is a safeguard against the unscrupulous counsels by which the throne is beset.'

After a short discussion, this motion is adopted by 493 votes to 34, and the Assembly adjourns after having passed the following resolution:—

* Bed of Justice. (*Lit de Justice*). Originally the throne on which the King of France was seated when he went to Parliament. Hence, a formal visit of a King of France to his Parliament. These visits had several objects; but latterly, when Parliament became a power in the State, beds of justice were held principally for the purpose of compelling its members to register edicts of the King when they shewed themselves unwilling to do so. Tr.

'The National Assembly declares that the person of every Deputy is inviolable ; that any private individual, corporation, tribunal, court, or commission daring to prosecute, impeach, arrest or cause to be arrested, imprison or cause to be imprisoned, any Deputy, either during or after the present session, in consequence of any proposal, advice, opinion, or speech delivered by him in the States-General ; as well as all persons lending their assistance for any of the aforesaid breaches of privilege, by whomsoever the order for them be given, shall be considered infamous and traitors to the nation, and shall be guilty of a capital crime. The National Assembly further declares that if any of the above-named acts should occur, it will take all measures necessary to punish the authors, instigators, and perpetrators of the deed.'

For the transaction of the remaining business the Assembly adjourns till to-morrow, at nine o'clock.

These several resolutions were adopted in the presence of several members of the Clergy. Those whose powers had been verified took part in the vote ; the others requested that mention should be made of their presence.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

M. Bailly in the Chair.

SESSION OF WEDNESDAY, 24TH JUNE.

After the minutes of yesterday's Session have been read, it is resolved that a printing-office be established in Versailles, for the use of the National Assembly, and M. Baudoin *deputé suppléant* for Paris, is appointed printer.

With this commencement of the report of the proceedings of the first day upon which a Chamber sat under the formally-assumed title of NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, we close the present extract.

ART. V.—A SCOTTISH GOVERNING HOUSE.

The Arniston Memoirs. Edited by GEO. W. T. OMOND, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh. 1888.

AMID the many contributions which one source after another is affording to our knowledge of the past, it is difficult to avoid occasionally commiserating the historian of

the future. How will he be able to digest, and compress within reasonable bounds, the vast mass of materials, none of which he can afford to overlook? And what form of historical narrative will he be impelled to adopt? Chronicle has been followed by dissertation; the reigns of monarchs have yielded to periods that denote the fortunes of politicians and the supremacy of parties; dry narrative has been thrown aside for dramatic description. A late tendency has sought to depict the steady swell of national development among the great body of the people that has been ever going on under the surf and curl of Parliamentary political life, and the magnitude of the true historian's task is being more and more appreciated. Yet in this as in other matters there is much truth in the old legal maxim, *Dolus latet in generalibus*. Hasty and superficial generalisation is really the grave danger that besets a democratic body, and is the origin of the anomaly that with the loudest talk about justice, and a widespread generous desire to do justice, there is frequently perpetrated the most aggravated and unblushing injustice. Nothing contributes more to this result, which in the long run brings its own retribution, and decay to the society that permits it, than loose and imperfect, while nominally broad and liberal, views of historical facts. There is a danger in literature and politics, that while emancipating ourselves from vain and hampering 'traditions of the fathers,' we may only do so to abase ourselves beneath the Juggernaut wheels of what are called 'great movements.' The safeguard is to be found in getting behind the movement, and tracing the men who have set it in motion. It is only thus that real progress is to be made towards a philosophy of history, and that history at the same time can retain the picturesque incidents, the elements of individual interest, the light and shade, that have made it the most fascinating of all studies.

In the abundance of biographical details, supplied from sources of unquestionable authority, there may perhaps be found the antidote to the generalised method of writing history. After all, the object of the science is to relate the actions of men rather than to record the operation of forces,

and the forces with which it deals are in the main the passions and the opinions of men. It has been described as 'the essence of innumerable biographies,' and 'philosophy teaching by example.' It certainly affords plenty of examples to show how the action of individuals falsifies the forecasts of the wisest philosophy. Action and reaction may be a law of human affairs, but the prevalence of the one or the other often depends on the prospects of a single man. Individual biography may afford the key to national events, and must supplement and correct the error that only takes account of waves of general sentiment and opinion.

But none the less is it true that a nation is a composite whole, and that men are to some extent the creatures of their circumstances and time. And it is especially interesting to trace a well developed type of individual character or social position, that has acted long enough on national affairs to produce important effects, and itself existed long enough, with its main features unchanged, to illustrate the influence on private life of great public movements. The growth of hereditary opinion is interesting, and the pedigree of parties is a fascinating subject of research. Lord Stanhope's startling but plausible theory of the absolute reversal of position between the Whig and Tory parties at the beginning and end of last century has failed to secure the approval of Mr. Lecky, but there is more to be said for it than the later historian admits. It suggests an enquiry on which much light may be thrown by the increasing additions made to our knowledge of the secret springs of last century's political movements by selections from the documents and narratives of the lives of those who took part in them. Possibly not the least valuable information may be found in a part of the country different in many respects from that in which the originator of the idea found the mass of his materials.

If the question were put to an ordinary Scotsman, as to what family receptacles were likely to contain most illustrating the history of last century, and as to where the most characteristic type of Scottish politician during the same period was to be found, the reply would certainly be 'the house and home

from which came Henry Dundas.' The strange tendency which connects all the abuses of a defunct régime with its most prominent and honoured name, still prevents the capacious mind and warm heart of the first Lord Melville from receiving its due deserts in the country to which he was deeply attached. Even yet in the city whose inhabitants once 'thought their streets too vulgar for Lord Melville to walk upon,' an occasional scream of vulgar malignity discharges itself in letters to the newspapers advocating the renaming of spacious streets and crescents, and the metamorphosis of the monument that commemorates the great colleague of Pitt, under whose auspices the energies of Scotsmen found so splendid a sphere in the making of British India. It is a remarkable fact that no biography exists of a statesman who for long was a figure in the House of Commons only lesser than Pitt, and Burke and Fox, and was, without exaggeration, the Dictator of Scotland.

But Henry Dundas was only the most prominent figure of a remarkable race, who left their mark on their country, and bore witness in their own career to special features of its character, and peculiarities of its national life. They not only exhibited but united the characters of enterprising country gentlemen, of good lawyers and of great statesmen. Between these varying lines of life a connection has always existed, but rarely has it been so close as in the Scotland of last century. Wherever Parliamentary Government is found, the Bar secures a large share of political prominence, not always to the advantage of the country, and sometimes undoubtedly a little to the discredit of the long robe. Wherever vast masses of half-educated men are invested with political power, ready talkers are in request, and eloquence and considerable leisure are too frequently for long the chief results of a life vowed to the worship of Themis. Nor is it always those who stand highest in the respect of their professional brethren, who are most successful in catching the lesser advantages of political life. Wherever there is a great capital with a popular assembly and a large bar, two classes gravitate irresistibly towards politics, and strangely enough they represent the highest excellence,

and the lower types of the legal profession. For public life requires the best men, and offers the loftiest and purest prizes of professional triumph, while on the other hand it gives a certain purchase in the struggles after mere professional gain. The conjunction produces alike a Lord Cairns or Sir Henry James, and a contrasted type of which the examples are many. But if the experience of the French Revolution, and of later days among ourselves lends some shadow to the common opinion that a lawyer who takes to politics remains a lawyer at heart, and is to be treated by the electors simply as a useful stick with which to beat the other side, it is equally true that even yet there is in the case of the Scottish Advocate a safeguard against purely self-seeking views of public life, that does not exist in that of the London barrister. Five hundred miles is a strong guarantee of patriotism. An English barrister may practise in the Courts, and sit for a Metropolitan division, may even run down to Scotland, and sit for a Scotch county on the strength of alterations in Scottish Law that simply mean the transfer of one man's property to another, and all the time be merely advancing his purely professional career. A seat in the House is a well understood professional investment. But a Scottish advocate must sacrifice his professional gains or his public ambition. For him 'carpet-bagging' is unprofitable, and even the acceptance of Crown office, which demands a seat in Parliament, may involve a serious monetary sacrifice. Payment of members would probably considerably alter things in this respect; but as it is, even with the increased facilities of travelling, public life is still to the north of the Tweed associated with a high standard of legal excellence. Only those who have made their position and can rest on their oars, or those who have a position independent of sordid exigencies, can venture to look towards Westminster.

This must have been even more the case in last century. The doors of political preferment were shut to all except a few, while its permanence rendered it prudent for those few to seek it. A great opening was afforded to the men who possessed the necessary qualifications, which comprised

'connection' to secure high place, and 'ability' to preserve it. But connection in Scotland meant something more than the same phrase in England. It was a more flexible term than the system of organised co-operation, of which the pure Whig party was the most conspicuous instance. The claims of kinship were always readily recognised in the Northern kingdom, and extended to a degree unknown elsewhere. In no country was the aristocratic spirit more real than in the Scotland of last century, and in none was it freer from the concomitants that arouse envy and ill will. In a different way the gradation of ranks that has been the boast of England was as marked a feature, and a state of society in which the 'bonnet-Laird' or the well-to-do farmer claimed a distant connection with a great peer or haughty chieftain, was not favourable to political adventures founded on broad distinctions between the Poor and the Rich. Indeed, the structure of society in Scotland presented in some respects a state of things halfway between the *ancien régime* of France, and the circumstances of England, while it possessed peculiar and marked features of its own. The old Scottish cavalier had as much of the French *gentilhomme* about him as of 'the fine old English gentleman,' and in many ways Edinburgh recalled Paris as much as London. '*L'épée, la robe, ou l'église,*' wrote La Bruyère, '*il n'y a presque point d'autre vocation;*' and the utterance, sinister as it was in the case of a nation that was driving to other shores her enterprising manufacturers and skilled artisans, might have been applied with considerable truth to the little country whose commerce was but starting on a great career. 'The sword' had for generations taken Scotsmen to serve in Continental armies, and the family of Lord Melville was to supply a General to the Scots Brigade in the service of Holland. The Church had played as important a part in the national life as that of France, though with results very different. But no body of men in Scotland possessed a more distinctive character than the bar, and none had more successfully asserted their right to share in public events. The Hopes had guided the counsels of the Covenanters, other advocates had on more than one occasion joined the banners

of the Cavaliers in the field; but the Whig system established after the Revolution was the parent of the great legal houses who exercised a power scarcely less than that of a great feudal baron of the old time, and not inferior to the influence of any great peer among their contemporaries. At first the influence of men whose rank was that of simple gentlemen of small estate was chafed under; and an old Scottish couplet quaintly expressed the position:

‘First came the men o’ many wimples,
Whom commonly folk ca’ Dalrymples,
And after them came the Dundases,
Who rode our Lords and Laids like asses.’

But the latter house never aroused the bitter hostility for long felt for the former. Their lot was cast in quieter times, their supremacy had not the air of novelty, and seemed more in the established order of things than that of their predecessors. Their conduct of affairs did not comprise a massacre of Glencoe, and they had the good fortune to be associated with the wise policy of George III., that ultimately made the children of those who had suffered at Carlisle the most loyal defenders of the throne of the House of Hanover. Indeed the story of the House of Arniston, compared with the fortunes of others that followed their lead during the crisis of the French Revolution, very well illustrates two distinct currents of political thought and action, which contributed to form the great Tory party of Mr. Pitt, and are the proper progenitors of the comprehensive Conservatism of to-day. In Scotland, we look in vain for tangible evidence of a large moderate Tory party definitely attached to the Protestant succession, and free from the taint of Jacobitism, such as existed in England, more especially in the Hanoverian Tories who followed Sir Thomas Hanmer in the later years of Queen Anne. In the troubled career of the Scottish Parliament between the Revolution and the Union, it is difficult to trace anything like formed parties, though some of the Scottish statesmen acted in co-operation with Nottingham and other Tories in England. But if in England the ‘practical proscription of every one who did not bear the name of Whig’ drove the mass of English Tory-

ism into Jacobitism, how much more must this have been the case in Scotland, where men thought that by 'the weary Union' the country had been 'sold to her auld enemies,' and the attachment to the representative of 'a hundred kings' was so much more devoted and intense? If the fear of a Restoration was the best safeguard against Revolution in England, it was the surest guarantee of their position to the Whig statesmen, who leant on the English Ministry for their support. Yet even in Scotland but a short time elapsed after the last Jacobite rising before men began to marshal themselves in the two great party camps, on other lines than had hitherto divided them. The evidence of this is to be traced far away from the capital. For example, in a northern county where Jacobitism had been particularly strong, the Pittites rallied round a noble house, who had been cavaliers in the civil wars, had stood out for King James at the Revolution, had taken the field in the '15, and, though the chief remained quiet, had sent a son as one of Prince Charles' most dashing lieutenants in the '45. The Fox interest found their leaders in another house that had risen to influence on the ruins of the lesser Jacobite gentry, and had been the steady supporters of Whig Ministries. Yet in less than ten years from the rout of Culloden the Tory interest is found sending its summons for aid in a trial of strength to a household that had been conspicuous in adherence to the House of Hanover, when the district was in the hands of the followers of Prince Charles.

But the Hanoverian avenue to the Toryism of Pitt, was more common in the South than in the North of Scotland. It was that trod by the Dundases. They had been Covenanters with the great mass of their neighbours, exiles in Holland previous to the Revolution, and steady Whigs after it. One remarkable exception no doubt there was, but without it a characteristic feature of Scottish family history would have been wanting. It is said that the indiscretion caused the young man to spend the rest of his days a close prisoner in a strong room of the family mansion, but it is probably more correct to treat it as an instance of the native prudence that frequently placed father and son in opposite camps of politics,

for the practical purpose of 'keeping the rigs together.' His kinsmen at any rate remained Whigs. But they followed the lead of Pulteney in 'the great Olympian sedition' of the old Whig party, and the strong mind of Henry Dundas only anticipated the action of the second great rift in the Whig ranks, on the occasion of the French Revolution, in taking up the position he assumed when the younger Pitt came upon the scene. From that time until the crash of 1832, the position of the Dundases in Scotland is the most apposite illustration of Lord Beaconsfield's contention that circumstances led to the adoption by the Tories, and their condemnation for, a system built and developed by the Whigs.

In the latter part of the 18th century, the representative of an old *East Lothian* family married, as his second wife, a lady of considerable force of character. His son, by a former marriage, was to carry on the family line, and become, according to the Scottish *parlance* that marked the head of a low country house of purest gentility, the Seventeenth Dundas of that Ilk. But the second wife, apparently, was determined that her eldest son should start in life on as equal terms as possible with his half-brother, and the lands of Arniston, in Mid-Lothian, were purchased, to provide for him. Tradition, as in the case of the 'Luck of Ederhall,' connects the fortunes of his family with the fate of a wine-glass, that was the property of his mother; and Sir James Dundas of Arniston, who at one time was Governor of Berwick, became the progenitor of a long line of able lawyers and skilled politicians.

The second Laird of Arniston, another James Dundas, was the first who attained a seat on the Scottish bench, taking his judicial title of Lord Arniston, as was then the custom in all cases except that of the head of the Court, from his family estate. But his tenure of legal office was short. His lot was cast in troubled times, and he seems to have been a man of scrupulous integrity. In common with the vast majority of his neighbours in the South of Scotland, he joined in signing the National Covenant of 1638, but as 'the Troubles' unrolled their 'Iliad of woes' for Scotland, he seems to have had serious misgivings as to the dominant policy. It would be as unjust

to accuse a man, who had signed the National Covenant, of inconsistency for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant, as to make the same accusation against the followers of Lord Hartington, for their actions, before and after the Home Rule policy of Mr. Gladstone was disclosed. As Hyde and Falkland, in England, had severed themselves from the measures that led on from Reform to Civil War, so Montrose and his special followers in Scotland found themselves leading the Cavaliers to whom they had been opposed. But the Scottish Revolutionaries would take no denial, and were not satisfied with passive obedience. The records of the Presbyteries of those days are full of the pressure, exerted alike upon the 'malignant' cavalier, and the half-hearted adherent of the earlier Covenant, and among others, Sir James Dundas was ultimately persuaded or coerced, though not until a year had passed after the King's head had rolled on the block, to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, and to declare the Marquis of Hamilton's expedition to his aid, so disastrously foiled by Cromwell at Preston, an 'unlawful engagement.' When Scotland lay crushed under the control of the Ironsides, Sir James Dundas seems to have lived quietly on his estate, but with the revival of the Court of Session on the Restoration, a seat on the bench was conferred upon him. It is to his credit that he was as faithful to the oaths he had taken as he had been reluctant to accept them. A declaration was required from all the judges that the Covenants were 'unlawful oaths and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same.' Lord Arniston was prepared to make the declaration with a qualifying clause, but conceived that his previous conduct barred him from doing so otherwise, while the king insisted on an unqualified renunciation. In November 1663 he ceased to sit, and soon placed his resignation in the hands of Government.

Sir James died in 1679, and his son Robert, like many other Scottish gentlemen, spent the years immediately prior to the Revolution in exile in Holland. Returning with William of Orange, the following year saw him elected as one of the members of

Parliament for Mid Lothian, a position which he held till the Union, and also elevated to the Scottish bench as the Second Lord Arniston. For long the Scottish judges continued to advise the Ministers and to take an active part in the less public executive functions of Government, but the bench must have afforded a remarkable contrast to the stormy scenes which the old Parliament House witnessed when stirred by the fiery eloquence of Fletcher of Salton. Lord Arniston had brought from Holland a taste for planting and gardening, and would sit in his old age reading Italian books beneath a favourite tree. In later years his son, when head of the Court, was on one occasion entertaining the magistrates of Edinburgh, when an unlucky municipal magnate, a carpenter by trade, expressed his admiration for the tree, estimated the number of feet of timber it contained, and offered a handsome figure for it. The chief of the Law turned sharply on him and replied: 'I would rather see you hang from its topmost branch.'

Lord Arniston's eldest son predeceased him. Like all his race he was an advocate, but, unlike the others, of strong Jacobite leanings, and he had perilled 'the interest' in course of construction, by moving at a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates the acceptance of the famous model in honour of the Pretender, which had been sent by the Duchess of Gordon. He did so in a very uncompromising speech, and was one of the deputation despatched to thank the Duchess. But the Government threatened a prosecution, the Faculty thought it wiser to rescind their acceptance, and James Dundas's marriage was soon followed by his death. The old judge died in 1726, but before he passed away had witnessed a remarkable instance of forensic success on the part of his younger son Robert, who was appointed Solicitor General in 1717, only eight years after his call to the bar, became Lord Advocate in 1720, and was elected Dean of Faculty—the blue ribbon of the Scottish bar—in the following year. For a century more there was scarcely a time when one of the house did not hold high office under the Crown.

The career of Robert Dundas illustrates the political condition of the country, the state of society, and the large

amount of liberty which subordinate officers of Government then allowed themselves in opposing the measures of their chief. A notorious *bon vivant*, Dundas is described as 'naturally averse to study and application,' but he proved himself an active politician and a lawyer of no mean calibre. The Secretary for Scotland, the Duke of Roxburghe, seems to have consulted him in preference to the Lord Advocate when he held the post of Solicitor General, and wrote him at length in 1718, on a proposal for substituting another system, more just to the claims of Scotland, for the election of the sixteen representative Peers, who in practice were chosen from a leet sent down by Ministers, to the scandal of the order and the advantage of the Jacobite intriguers. It is amusing to find the Duke conclude with a truly Whig argument: 'I shall only add one thing more, which is, that if this business is not done now, we are sure the Tories, whenever there happens to be a Tory administration, will not again risk its being to be done by the Whigs, and what the consequences of its being done by the Tories may be I leave you to judge.' In 1722, Lord Advocate Dundas became Member for Midlothian, but, in spite of his office, he joined the malcontent Scottish Members in opposition to the Malt Tax which had excited great popular discontent north of the Border, and Walpole dismissed him from office in 1725. Before long the same measure was taken with his friend, the Duke of Roxburghe, who had secretly favoured the agitation, and the opposition collapsed. Their fate was soon shared by many of their colleagues, when Walpole bowed to the storm and surrendered his Excise scheme, but punished the authors of its defeat.

Dundas now became the animating soul of the Whig dissentients in Scotland, where Walpole was represented by the Earl of Islay and the great Argyll interest. His letters show that he anticipated serious evils to the country, from the system which he described as 'corruption and oppression,' although he refrains from dwelling on political affairs, because 'there is no such thing as writing news unless we have a mind that what we write should be read at the post-office.' 'I never,' he says, in words which many a modern legislator can heartily

sympathise with, 'was so harassed with close attendance at the House of Commons to no other purpose than, so far as we can, to prevent other folks doing mischief.' 'Our proceedings in Parliament,' he writes again, 'will certainly alarm every country either with joy or surprise; our last resolution surely shows more confidence or more submission than ever King William could obtain or King Charles adventured to ask.' In the midst of political turmoil and intrigue a heavy blow fell upon him. A series of letters record the loss by smallpox, in the course of a few weeks, of two sons, two daughters, and 'an incomparable wife.' Three years later he took his seat on the bench as an ordinary Lord of Session, by the title borne by his father and grandfather, and on the fall of Walpole's administration, was frequently consulted by the Marquis of Tweeddale, who held the Scotch Secretaryship in that of Lord Wilmington. 'A dissolution of Parliament,' wrote Lord Tweeddale, 'would ruin the Whig interest, since it is certain a new Parliament would be a Tory one.' In the close of 1747 the death of Forbes of Culloden vacated the President's chair, and it remained unfilled for nine months, so delicate was the task of selection. Lord Marchmont has preserved an amusing account, from the lips of Lord Chesterfield, of the ministerial deliberations over it on one occasion. After various names had been canvassed, 'then the Lord Chancellor (Hardwicke) weighed what had been said in his Chancery scales of equity, and seemed to be of opinion they should name Arniston. But nothing was decided at this meeting.' Arniston was ultimately named; Mr. Pelham wrote him a frank and manly letter on the relations it was hoped he would maintain to the Ministers and other office-holders in Scotland; and Lord Hardwicke gracefully described his promotion 'as a proof that extraordinary merit in your profession and strict impartiality in the administration of justice, attended with real affection and attachment to his Majesty and his Government, are allowed their due weight.' He presided over the Court of Session to his death in 1753, and had already seen much more than the promise of the great abilities which, displayed by his son, were to outshine his own fame in the same place.

Robert Dundas, the second, was noted for his 'quick apprehension and natural genius,' and after less than five years at the bar was appointed Solicitor General in 1742, when not yet thirty years of age. Such early promotion was calculated to spoil a young man's manners, and Lord President Forbes, in acknowledging the respectful terms in which he had intimated it to him, thought it well to suggest a caution in language that could give no offence.

'Insolence,' writes the old lawyer and statesman, 'is so incident to office that it is become proverbial, and a young man of all others ought to be the most on his guard against it. But then it has been ever observed that it most commonly possesses low men, raised by some accident or jerk of fortune to employments above their merits, if not their hopes: it seldom lays hold of men whose abilities and rank in the world makes them equal to the office to which they are invited, and gives them reason to consider it as no elevation, though it be a preferment.'

Young though he was, Dundas came upon the official stage in difficult and stirring times. The Lord Justice-Clerk Fletcher of Milton was a close ally of the Duke of Argyll, and an able political intriguer in an interest hostile to that of the Dundases; Lord Advocate Craigie was an honest lawyer, of whom his more brilliant subordinate had occasion to write: 'I hope a little more practice, not in the law but among men, will make him more cautious.' These diverse interests had, with the aid of the commander-in-chief, to control and guide Scotland, when civil war came like a thunderbolt in a clear sky. For though there were rumours of Jacobite activity, and orders to be on the watch for suspected persons, those who held the reins laughed at the idea of an attempt, such as Prince Charles Edward improved upon the rumours by carrying out. Soon the anxiety equalled the incredulity, and Lord Tweeddale could plume himself on having 'suspected so dead a calm.' Owing largely to the rivalries in official circles, the Government in Edinburgh failed to act with energy, and the Jacobites were soon going about with 'the strong blaze of Restoration in their faces.' The Lord Advocate and Solicitor General were in Sir John Cope's camp the night before the battle of Prestonpans, and slept in the house of a county friend some little

distance off. In the morning they heard the sound of the guns, and soon learnt of the defeat. From his stepmother Dundas received an account of affairs in Edinburgh, and the old lady consoled herself with the reflection that present plunder was not to be looked for, as 'the forfeitures of estates are to be given to defray the loss of what their friends may suffer.' One precaution she did take, telling the factor 'to put the hounds all out to the tenants.' But the Highland army scrupulously respected the houses of those who were most prominent on the side of the Government.

The divisions in the Cabinet led to the resignation of Dundas's friend, Lord Tweeddale, who was an ally of Lord Granville, and the Solicitor General, worried as he was by the strained relations with the Lord Justice-Clerk, in spite of the exhortations of his father, of Lord President Forbes, who wished that, 'in our present situation, he had tugged a little longer at the oar,' and of other friends, determined to follow his example. It was, perhaps, none the worse for the future influence of his family in Scotland that he was dissociated from all Government employment, when Civil War had given place to Treason trials and the headsman's axe.

For eight years he devoted himself to professional work and the improvement and embellishment of his estate. But in 1754 he entered Parliament, of course as member for Mid-Lothian, and the occasion was a fortunate one. The Duke of Newcastle had just become Prime Minister, and the Lord-Advocate been promoted to the bench. The vacant office was given to Dundas. For some time his attention, like that of his modern successors, had largely to be given to the lawless state of the Highlands, and constant reports were sent to him by military officers as to their condition. On two occasions he acted a part unworthy of a man of such eminence, for he opposed the election of David Hume as librarian of the Faculty of Advocates, and he joined in the illiberal and fanatical attacks that were made upon John Home in connection with his tragedy of *Douglas*. His first legal appointment had followed on the fall of Walpole; his last was reached in the last year of George II., for in 1760 he took his seat at the head

of the Scottish Judicial system as the Second Lord-President Dundas. For twenty-seven years he presided over the Court with lustre and dignity, reforming its business and enhancing its character, while his younger half-brother, Henry, soon filled the Parliamentary position he had quitted, and took rank as an Imperial rather than a Scottish statesman.

Henry Dundas was called to the bar three years after his brother's promotion to the bench; in three more, at the age of twenty-four, he became Solicitor General; and Lord Mansfield prophesied, 'Your brother will certainly go as far as his career can carry him.' He became member for Mid-Lothian in 1774, and in the following year was made Lord Advocate under Lord North. Great as were his prospects in Parliament, his attachment to the Scots bar made him reluctant to sever his connection with it; and even after ceasing to be Lord Advocate, he sought to hold, for some time longer, the honour of Dean of Faculty, which his brethren had conferred upon him. In 1781 an old uncle writes of him with pride: 'He is plagueing Charles Fox and the faction.' His growing success and influence soon met the difficulty which the Lord-President had felt when pressed by the Duke of Newcastle to take in his hands the affairs of Scotland, of the incompatibility of high judicial office with the active exercise of political power and patronage.

High legal office had come to be considered so inalienable an appanage of the House of Arniston, that when Henry Dundas sought a wider sphere, it seemed but befitting that his nephew should, as soon as possible, take over the functions he had left. Robert Dundas, the son of the Lord-President, was not of equal vigour with his father and uncle; but in spite of his kinsman, political foe, and personal antagonist, Lord Cockburn's statement to the contrary, he had a fair share of the ordinary work of the profession, and would certainly have passed a qualifying, if not a competitive, examination for the positions to which he was advanced. Perhaps the most striking tribute to the influence of his kinsmen, as well as the ability of the greatest, was the manner, remarkable even in an age of confused and changing parties in which Henry Dundas had kept

his place while ministries rose and fell. North, Rockingham, and Shelburne came and went, but he seemed destined to be Lord Advocate for ever. The Coalition however indicated that the time had come to choose sides once for all, and Dundas, perhaps partly from personal, but more from patriotic motives, and in conformity with the idea of supereminent duty to the king amid all changes of his servants, which his father had formerly impressed on his brother, threw in his lot with Mr. Pitt. In the fierce battle with 'Fox and the faction' he did yeoman's service, and his aid was recognised by the appointment of his nephew Robert as Solicitor General in 1784. Robert Dundas was then twenty-five, and had been five years at the bar. His uncle had great confidence in his judgment and discretion, and had told his brother to show all his confidential letters to 'your son Robert.' This confidence was fully justified by young Dundas's conduct of affairs during a most critical and anxious time. The relations between the relatives were rendered closer by the Solicitor General's marriage to a daughter of the future Lord Melville, and in 1789 he succeeded Islay Campbell as Lord Advocate. At the General Election of 1790, Henry Dundas exchanged the county of Mid-Lothian for the city of Edinburgh, and again Robert Dundas stepped into his shoes and the seat that had been filled by so many of their house. He entered Parliament with a moderate estimate of his own abilities, and a deep veneration for Mr. Pitt, and the account of their relations which he sent to his wife is honourable to both. He had mentioned going down to a Committee on the Corn Bill, and continues:—

'I wrote you in very bad spirits and in worse humour with myself for having risen on Friday last to give my opinion about that business. It seems however that I was mistaken as Pitt was much pleased, and said what I had stated was in point of matter and manner more to the purpose than anything he had heard on the subject. In short he thinks I shall do him good; and in proof of it I was admitted by his own desire, to the previous meeting at his house yesterday, of 8 or 10 of his friends, to consider what was to be stated in answer to the expected attack on the bill for appropriating the unclaimed dividends. He says he never wants me to make a set speech, but wishes me to make myself previously master of the

business to come on, and not to rise and speak on it unless I feel inclined, and anything occurs which I think myself able to answer. If I do ultimately turn out of use to him in any way I shall be abundantly satisfied.'

It is difficult to realise that Dundas was Pitt's senior by a year, but how perfect is the tone from a Master of the House of Commons to a zealous but diffident subordinate!

Dundas's tenure of office as Lord Advocate coincided with the duration of Mr. Pitt's long administration, and when the great minister resigned in 1801, he preferred on the score of health to accept the comparatively light duties of the Court of Exchequer, rather than wait for the office that his father and grandfather had held, as his zealous friends desired. The period during which he had directed the operations of the Scottish Crown office, had been one round which controversy long raged, and even now it is difficult to obtain an unprejudiced judgment on the conduct of its public men. There was much room for reform, there was great danger of revolution. Mr. Pitt was certainly not a statesman hostile to the first whenever he considered it compatible at the moment with the safety of the State, and it is curious that though Henry Dundas frankly declared his opposition to Municipal Reform, his nephew the Lord Advocate, seconded a motion in favour of reform of 'the election law for the return of members to Parliament,' at a meeting in Edinburgh in July 1792. But the action of those who aimed at Revolution while clamouring for Reform, soon made it necessary for statesmen to postpone the overhauling of the constitutional tackle to the paramount necessity of steering the ship safely through the breakers. The strong practical sense of the Dundases would probably, had events held on their natural course, have reconciled them to guiding an inevitable change to a successful issue, but it was not in human nature that they should be eager to disturb the system with which, under Whigs and Tories alike, the fortunes of the House of Arnhem had been identified. But with thrones falling abroad, and sedition rising up at home, statesmen of even broader grasp than the Lord Advocate felt that to tinker then with the constitution was out of the question. Perhaps

the most fatal result of the mistaken policy of Fox, was the manner in which the action of his friends made it impossible for Government to relax the bonds of the past by a hair breadth, and thrust back for a generation changes that were needed, and should have come as healthy developments rather than as surgical operations. To a very great degree the conduct of Fox has been in our time repeated by Mr. Gladstone, and the parallel is painfully complete. There has been the same unblushing coalition with bitter opponents described by every term of parliamentary opprobrium, the same playing upon Separatist chords in Ireland, the same sympathy and encomiums on those whose interests are opposed to those of Britain, even to the extent of being in arms against her, the same pseudo-humanitarianism in politics, appealing to lofty sentiments, but shutting its eyes to real tragedies. There has been a similar revolt of the most honoured section of a historical party, and a like miscalculation as to the powers and principle of public men. There has been a similar staking of reputation on a gambler's throw to regain power, and the same desperation after defeat. For the Conservatives the parallel has its encouragement and its warning. In the beginning of the century political justice inflicted on the Whigs a long exclusion from power, and the Tories justly reaped more splendid honours than have ever fallen to the lot of a political party for saving the constitution and the Empire. But, as justly, they ultimately paid the forfeit for failing to utilize for all great ends the powers that had fallen to them, for assuming that the temporary must last for ever, and for neglecting some pressing interests of the people. If, now as then, sedition must be met with an unyielding front, the experience of the past should guard against a repetition of the mistake that resistance to rapine and revolution involves a stolid perpetuation of the *status quo ante*.

The private correspondence of the time even between men far removed from official life bears witness to the critical state of the country, and Lord Advocate Dundas was justified in acting with promptitude and energy. It is conceded even by those who attenuate the danger, that in the trials in which the

harsh homilies of some of the Judges, and the imperfections of the Scotch jury system, brought discredit on the Government, the Lord Advocate fulfilled his duty with moderation and courtesy. The letters that passed between him and his uncle show that their policy was to act in time when they believed they had a good case, to avoid giving occasions for theatrical demonstrations, and not to flinch from the natural consequences of the action of the legal tribunals.

'In the representation,' wrote Lord Melville, after the conviction of Muir and Palmer, 'presented to me by Messrs. Lauderdale, Grey, and Sheridan, they state their intention to bring the business before Parliament. It is not, however, my intention to gratify them in that respect, for if the Judges' report expresses no doubt upon the subject, I will carry the sentence immediately into execution, and meet their clamour in Parliament without any kind of dismay. There is no foundation for the report you have heard of any particular severity to Muir and Palmer.'

'You get great credit here,' he wrote again, 'for your attack on the Convention,' referring to Dundas's arrest of the ringleaders at a Convention which discussed armed rebellion. 'Wild as we have been in this country,' the Lord Advocate was able to reply, 'our senses are beginning to return, and even reformers are not ripe for equality and a Convention modelled on that of France.' But the strain of feeling—not to be wondered at when we remember all that was at stake—showed itself in the opposition of the Faculty of Advocates to the re-election of their Dean Henry Erskine, who in his political action had been unmindful of his position as the head of that ancient body, and he was replaced by Dundas. The honour that would probably have come to him in due course was dimmed by its receipt on political grounds, but if such was to be, he probably would not have wished to change the occasion. If the time had its perplexities, and painful duties, it had also its moments of patriotic joy, and one of these must have come when the Lord Advocate's brother-in-law, Admiral Duncan, wrote him the glorious news of Camperdown.

'In short,' he said, after giving some particulars of the action, 'I feel perfectly satisfied. All was done that could be done. None have any fault to find. I have now in my possession three Admirals Dutch—an Admiral

De Winter, Vice-Admiral Reuter, Rear-Admiral Meame. The Admiral is on board with me, and a most agreeable man he is. He speaks English well, and seems much pleased with his treatment. I have assured him, and with justice nothing could exceed his gallantry. He says nothing hurts him but that he is the first Dutch Admiral ever surrendered. So much more credit to me. He tells the troops that were embarked in the summer were 25,000 Dutch, destined for Ireland, but after August that expedition was given up.'

After taking his seat as the head of the Court of Exchequer, Lord Chief Baron Dundas had to spend much of his time in foreign travel for the sake of his health, and on one occasion his services were called in on one of His Majesty's frigates to declare a betrothed couple, who had failed for four years to find a clergyman, man and wife according to the Law of Scotland. In 1805 came the famous tenth report, and the resolution carried by the casting vote of the Speaker that cost Mr. Pitt 'a deep and bitter pang.' The misfortune of his old colleague, as well as Ulm and Austerlitz hastened his end, and it was with mingled feelings that his followers hailed the ultimate acquittal of Lord Melville. But in Scotland the exaltation was great, and all the more unrestrained on account of the spiteful conduct of the Whig Solicitor General, who warned the Magistrates of Edinburgh against allowing an illumination of the city. Six years later Lord Melville came to Edinburgh for the funeral of his old friend Robert Blair of Avontoun, the Lord President, who had died very suddenly. To his nephew he wrote 'the circumstances which occurred in January 1806 have a strong and striking resemblance to what has recently happened.' Little did either of them think how sadly that resemblance was to be emphasized. In the simple words of the daughter of the one and wife of the other, Lord Melville 'dined and spent the evening with the Chief Baron, cheerful and well, went to bed where he was found by his servant lifeless next morning the 28th. He died almost upon the birthday of his great private and political friend Mr. Pitt.' The Lord Chief Baron was destined to see the triumphant conclusion of the great struggle, in which his political chief and able kinsman had so long borne the burden and heat of the day, for he survived Waterloo, dying in 1819.

Robert Dundas, eldest son of the Lord Chief Baron and seventh Laird of Arniston, was called to the Scots bar in 1820. He had chosen his profession with the special view of following a political career such as had been pursued by so many of his race. Indeed he came within an ace of being appointed Solicitor-General, but on the passing of the Scottish Reform Bill, he personally accepted the result which he seems to have foreseen and foreswore public life, devoting himself to agricultural improvement and the development of the mineral wealth of his estate. But although those who looked ahead had seen the shadow of the impending change,—a change far greater in Scotland than England, because the old system had stood in much greater need of reform, and the reformers had been more violent,—while George IV. lived, the ascendancy of the Dundases had been externally as imposing as ever. The second Lord Melville had succeeded his father as ‘manager’ for Scotland, and the tenure by the family of the City of Edinburgh representation only expired when the new system came into force. Other relatives were in Parliament, and Arniston was a centre of political consultation. But a foretaste of the coming shock was experienced when Lord Melville found the Government proposals as to the currency attacked, so far as they affected Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott, in the *Malachi Malagrowther* letters, and the result was a temporary ‘quarrel, in all its forms,’ between the two old friends. A more serious blow was dealt by the schism in the Tory ranks, consequent on Lord Liverpool’s death. Lord Melville, who was one of the seceding ministers, and his friends deeply distrusted Mr. Canning, and looked with suspicion on his Whig allies. Honest as both sections were in their views of what was best for the country, the event was one from which the Tory party never recovered, and its effects were peculiarly deleterious to their interests in Scotland. Scotch business was handed over to the Home Office, presided over by Lord Lansdowne, and thus Canning made his Whig allies a present of the northern kingdom. Although Lord Melville returned to office with the Duke of Wellington, and Lady Melville wrote to her nephew, ‘They

say there is a general amnesty for Rats,' the *solidarité* of the Tory party, both in Parliament and in the country, had been rudely shaken, and the resignation of Mr. Huskisson over the East Retford Franchise Bill, showed an open rift. A statement in a letter from Sir William Rae, the Lord-Advocate, to Mr. Dundas, illustrates how slight are the circumstances on which important events may hinge.

'Huskisson walked home with Plantá, who said that Huskisson should resign, and accordingly he wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated at two in the morning, resigning. . . . It seems strange that a man of the age of Huskisson should not have chosen to sleep upon a matter of such grave importance. If he had waited till morning, and spoke to the Duke, all would have been well, as they have all along been on good terms. Lord Palmerston, it seems, said something to the Duke about resigning, which his Grace hardly deigned to notice: he afterwards observed he was not going to take a cannon to kill a butterfly. All this, mind, is for your private ear.'

With Huskisson went the other Canningites; and it is curious to notice Henry Dundas's opinion of a future Whig premier, Lord Melbourne:

'I am sorry he has resigned: altho' a Whig, he is a very good one, a decided anti-reformer, and has, I believe, given great satisfaction in Ireland. Taken all in all, he is a good man, and very sound in his opinions.'

Though the Government came out well in the debates upon the Huskisson secession, the passing over Sir William Rae's claims to the post of Lord Chief Baron, in favour of the Whig Abercromby—a remarkable instance of the 'conciliation,' which, as Lord Beaconsfield said, 'conducted us to a revolution'—disheartened some of their best friends, and the Catholic Emancipation Act was peculiarly distasteful to the rank and file of their supporters in Scotland. At the election of 1830, William Dundas, brother of the Lord Chief Baron, was again returned for Edinburgh; Henry, Lord Melville's son, for Winchilsea; and Robert Adam Dundas, cousin of the Laird of Arniston, for Ipswich. But with April 1831 came the last of the old elections, in which Robert Adam succeeded his uncle at Edinburgh, and the

windows of his cousin's town house were again shattered by the savage Edinburgh mob, as his father's had been in the days of the revolutionary riots. At the first election after the Reform Bill, the Scottish counties returned nine Tories out of thirty members, while but one solitary member appeared to represent the Conservatism of the burghs. The days of the Dundases as a great governing house were over.

Mr. Robert Adam Dundas continued to live a Parliamentary life, and became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Lord Derby's administration of 1852; but both Lord Melville and Mr. Dundas of Arniston withdrew from prominent political life, although they retained their interest in public affairs, and gallantly aided in the reorganisation of the Tory party in their locality on a basis suited to the new system. In 1834, they had the satisfaction of regaining the county seat; and although it was again lost in 1837, the number of Scottish Tory members had risen from nine to twenty. Mr. Dundas died in 1838, and Lord Melville, who had acted as chairman of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Poor-Law in Sir Robert Peel's time, followed him to the grave in 1851.

For 130 years, from the accession of William III. almost to the death of George III., with the solitary exception of the period from 1726 to 1737, there had not been a moment when high legal office was not held by some member of the Arniston family; and if we add to their legal eminence, the political position in Parliament of the first Lord President, and of the first and second Lord Melville, we may well question whether any other family, originally simple country gentlemen, can show so deep an impression on the fortunes and history of their country. It was the evil fortune of the Dundases to be specially associated with the obstinate defence of a system that demanded renovation; but even in the case of those who were born wedded to it, the services to the nation far outweighed the blame that attaches to a restricted view of the needs of the time. 'The retirement of Lord Melville (the younger),' wrote Lord Cockburn, 'from the government of Scotland was not an event for which in itself any candid Scotch Whig could rejoice; because no man, individually,

could have conducted the affairs of the country with greater good sense and fairness, or with less of party prejudice or bitterness.' And amid all the rancour of political controversy and revolutionary bitterness, the commanding figure of his father, 'the Pharos of Scotland,' was revered by all Scotsmen, and not a few of his active opponents were ready to acknowledge the magnanimity and good qualities of 'Hal Dundas.' This unique position the Dundases owed to a combination of qualities and circumstances. The high ability of the stock was sustained on a level most remarkable in so many generations, and their correspondence bears witness to the solid sagacity that in the most brilliant underlay their more conspicuous gifts. Professional influence they had, but the profession in which each won his spurs, though one in which influence goes as far as anywhere, is yet one in which it most stringently demands the co-operation of personal merit. It is very well to say that So-and-so has very good backing, but the heights of forensic success are only won when the man has proved himself better than his backing. Their political influence was strengthened by a long connection with official life, but it owed almost more to a series of alliances that gave them kinsmen in many counties of Scotland, but most of all in those south of the Forth. Their own natural position in Scottish society as a family of established reputation, interested in everything affecting the welfare of the land, gave them wider interests, and broader and sounder views on general social questions, than if they had read them up as purely professional men on quitting Edinburgh for Westminster. They were essentially practical men, and they had a solid grip of the various interests that made up Scottish life, not to be obtained by any amount of theoretical disquisition. The closing years of their ascendancy showed that they had acquired the errors as well as the virtues of practical men, and that they shared the mistakes common to many followers of Mr. Pitt. The great War had unavoidably postponed the great minister's schemes of internal reform, but with the Peace of 1815 came the opportunity and duty of turning attention to internal problems. To a large extent it was done, but because

it was not done in the questions that produce the popular spectacles of politics, the statesmen of the time have for long lost the credit of doing it at all. Lord Beaconsfield once observed that there ought to have been a change of Government in 1819, and there is no doubt that the long tenure of unchallenged power enervated the political energies of the Tory party. Mr. Gladstone, when proposing his recent changes was profuse in making allowances for the apprehensions of the Tories of the Georgian era, and the children of Lord Melville may be pardoned for a too implicit faith in altering circumstances in the precise order of things, that under his firm hand had successfully stood the strain of a terrible crisis.

A curious dispensation of fortune has assigned the task of editing the *Arniston Memoirs*, and estimating the character of Lord Melville to a gentleman whose historical school is that of Lord Cockburn, and whose political career comprises an assault upon a Liberal Unionist seat in the interests of the advanced Parnellism of Mr. Gladstone's later days. A less biased treatment of the career of the Dundases may be thus secured, and it may be a guarantee to the public that the judgment will not err on the side of eulogy as far as the more recent generations are concerned. Mr. Omond deserves, not compliment, but the due recognition of sincere approval, for the manner in which, on the whole, he has discharged a difficult enterprise. It is not easy to draw the line between the domestic and the national, it is much harder to judge correctly the actions of those whose conduct in a great crisis ran counter to the writer's sympathies and sentiments. But those who care to examine the social condition of the past, and to reconstruct the face of their own country, will be aided by not a little valuable information as to the farming, the arboriculture, and the general manners of the past, which these *Memoirs* contain; while the historical student will not find much to quarrel with in the groundwork of the narrative as far as it trenches on politics. But we must add, that in our view, to give the true tone and colour of the events in which our ancestors acted as the eighteenth passed into the nineteenth century, and to do the men themselves full justice, the annalist must be in

some sympathy with their convictions, and must realise their responsibilities, fighting for the existence of their country, with the most terrible of foreign enemies, with traitors at home, and with, it must also be said, 'superior' young men of generous instincts, and considerable conceit, who were driven by the hard logic of events into the paradox of denying the existence of the one and becoming the catspaws of the other. To do justice to Pitt and Dundas, the truth must be spoken about Fox; and unpleasant as it is to dwell on the shortcomings of one who holds so honoured a place in the country's history, the hard facts of the situation with which statesmen had to grapple should receive their due prominence. It must not be forgotten that Pitt, who was no alarmist, believed that 'if he were to resign, his head would be off in six months'; that the French archives show that ministers, and not their critics, were right at the time of the 'invasion panic'; that to a storm on one occasion, and nervousness in an Admiral on another, Ireland and England owed their escape from an inundation of the hosts that swept over the Continent of Europe; and that during the campaigns in Portugal, the great soul of Wellington was lashed into indignation, and the dispositions of Napoleon materially aided by the manner in which important information was communicated through the proceedings of a reckless Opposition in Parliament. The errors of the Tories may have been many, and the contributions of the Whigs to the welfare and comfort of the country have been great, but let us remember that successful resistance to Napoleon was the basis of all subsequent prosperity, and without 'the pilot who weathered the storm,' and his colleagues, we should have had no constitution to reform, and very possibly no great industries and but a comparatively scanty population to ameliorate.

'If peerless yet our common wealth sublime,
Views its calm image in the glass of Time;

Honour to him as to the saving star,
He was, and therefore are we what we are.'

ART. VI.—GREECE BEFORE 1821.

[The following article, which originally appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue* for Jan. 1, 1884, has been translated with the permission of the author, but circumstances have made it impossible to submit the rendering for his correction, and he is not, therefore, responsible for any of its details.]

THE Hellenic race occupies at the present day very nearly the same geographical position which it held in the days of classical antiquity. The course of ages, the forces of political movement, the vicissitudes of invasion, and the influences of successive conquests, have wrought but little change in it in this respect, save in Southern Italy and on the Western coasts of the Mediterranean.* The Hellenic population is compact in the islands of the Ægean Archipelago and in the peninsula of Greece proper. From the mouth of the Strymon Southwards, it occupies the sea-coast both of Turkey in Europe and of Turkey in Asia, and stretches inland for a greater or a less distance. According to Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, published in London in 1799 and again in 1801,† the Hellenes at the beginning of this century calculated their own numbers at seven millions. Eton himself, however, justly remarks that this estimate was obviously an exaggerated one. Even at the present day, with the increased population of the free Hellas, and the comparative amelioration in the condition of the peasantry in some parts of the Turkish Empire itself, it would not be safe to reckon the entire number of Hellenes as exceeding six millions.

When the War of Independence broke out in 1821, the consequences were felt wherever an Hellenic population existed.

* A great deal of Greek blood of course exists in a more or less corrupt state in these districts, and the tradition of the race is preserved in Southern Italy and Sicily by the existence of a good many Greek Churches, especially in the cities, where the worshippers, although otherwise scarcely distinguishable from other Italians, continue to use the forms and language of the Greek Church. Tr.

† Ed. 1799, p. 291.

All the Hellenes did not take an active share in the struggle, but they were all exposed to be massacred, persecuted, outraged and plundered. The inhabitants of Thrace, of Asia Minor, and of the islands immediately adjacent, were too close to the centre of the Empire, too much surrounded by Turks, and too open to all the excesses of tyranny to have been able to move, even if they had had the courage. But in Epiros, in Thessaly, and in Macedonia, where the Hellenic element was strong, and where men's nerves were braced by the pure air of the mountains, the population rose in arms at the very first signal. In these districts, however, the revolutionary movement was immediately crushed. They were strongly occupied by the Turks, and served them as bases of operation during the whole of the war. The struggle itself raged in the Southern parts of the mainland of Greece, in the Peloponnesos, in Crete, and in the Western Islands of the Ægean. These Greek provinces alone, containing about one quarter of the entire Hellenic race, maintained, by themselves, for the space of seven years, an unequal conflict against the whole power of the Ottoman Empire. And yet, when the war was over, they were not all allowed to keep the freedom to gain which they had suffered so much. The territory which was formed into the new Greek kingdom was found to contain scarcely 700,000 souls, when its inhabitants essayed for the first time to count themselves after having laid down their arms.*

* Félix Beaujour (*Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, 1787-97*, p. 22) estimates the population of Macedonia, Epiros, and Thessaly at 1,400,000; that of the rest of the mainland of Greece at 220,000; and that of the Peloponnesos at 360,000. Stephanópoulos (*Voyage en Grèce*, ii. 166) arrives at the same conclusion with regard to the Peloponnesos. The census made by the Venetian Republic in 1686 (*vide* Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ελλάς*, p. 366) gives only 200,000, but it is not an unnatural phenomenon that the population should have increased by fifty per cent. in an hundred years. Pouqueville, however (*Voyage en Grèce*, iii. 440), taking his figures from those of the *Kharatch* or poll-tax paid by the Christian inhabitants, reckons the Christian population of the Peloponnesos at only 150,000, that of Thessaly at 275,000, and that of Epiros at 373,000. As for Crete, Pashley (*Travels in Crete*, ii. 326) estimates the population before 1821 at between 260,000 and 270,000. In classical times they were be-

The population of the same districts had been in antient times at least six times as numerous, and, notwithstanding all the wars which the Byzantine Empire had been compelled to wage, they were still plentifully inhabited when the Crusaders dealt the first blows at the power of Christian Constantinople, and even at the later moment when she was finally annihilated by the Turkish conquest.

The Turks set themselves to batten upon what remained of the antient prosperity of the country which they had conquered. They did so with the simple and unthinking instinct of beasts. They ate whatever they found, without any

lieved to amount to a million. When the Venetians took possession of the island in the Thirteenth Century, the inhabitants amounted to between 500,000 and 600,000. Half of them were still left in the Sixteenth Century. After the Turkish Conquest of Crete, an English traveller quoted by Pashley, calculates the number at no more than 80,000.

According to the statements made by Capodistria to the representatives of the Powers in 1828 (*vide* Mamoukas, *Tà κατὰ τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I. 235-6), the population of the territories then forming the Greek State had been 950,000 before 1821, but had sunk to 765,000. This figure would seem to have been exaggerated. Thus, the inhabitants of the Islands of the Archipelago are set down as 178,000 in both years; Eubœia is credited with 169,000 in 1821, and 120,000 in 1828. But the Isles of the Ægean had only 143,000 in 1840, and the number did not rise to 175,704 till the census of 1875. As for Eubœia, the census of 1840 gave only 43,340, and that of 1875, 83,350. The population of the Peloponnesos amounted to 431,000 in 1840, and to 709,245 in 1879; according to Capodistria, the numbers had been 500,000 before 1821, and 400,000 in 1828, the former figure however including the Mohammedan population, which formed about one-tenth. The first census of the kingdom, made according to Capodistria's calculation, gave a total population of 650,000; and that of 1836, 751,000, nearly the same as given by him in 1828. In 1840 the total had risen to 856,000, and according to the census of 1879, the original provinces contained 1,409,334 inhabitants, and the Ionian Isles, 244,433; giving a total of 1,653,765. The portions of Thessaly and Epiros since added to Greece probably raise the figure to 2,000,000. The population of the original provinces seems to double in 48 years (see the official statistical tables for 1875, p. 18), but it may be hoped that an increase both of well-being and of territory will not make it needful to wait another fifty years in order to see doubled or trebled the present number of free Hellenes. As to the population in classical times, the reader may consult the dissertation of the k. Kastorches in the *Ἀθηναίων*, vols. iv. and v.

thought for the morrow. It never occurred to them to think of preserving or developing the bountiful resources of the territories upon which they had lighted. And accordingly, under their deadly government, these countries proceeded to fall rapidly into ruin and desolation. 'Wherever,' observes the English eye-witness Eton, (p. 143, ed. 1799, p. 135, ed. 1801), 'the Turks have established their dominion, science and commerce, the comforts and the knowledge of mankind have alike decayed. Not only have they exemplified barbarism and intolerance in their own conduct, but they have extinguished the flame of genius and knowledge in others.' The dwindling of the population and the steadily increasing imminence of public ruin not only have hitherto been, but still actually are, the glaring evidence of what is meant by being under the Turkish Empire, as regards the complete destruction of all public prosperity. In the year 1204, when Villehardouin and his fellow Crusaders came into contact with the East, their first emotion was one of dazzlement at the spectacle of such marvellous wealth and splendour. But since those days the Turks have been allowed to effect a complete change. The travellers who visited Turkey at the end of the last century or the beginning of the present, are unanimous in recording with horror the wretchedness which was co-extensive with the Ottoman Empire. The inhabitants had learnt by experience not even to till the ground beyond what was necessary for the bare support of life. 'They have no courage,' says the French traveller Savary,* 'no spirit. And why should they attempt anything? If they took to sowing or planting, it would lead to the idea that they were rich, and so inevitably bring down the Aga to devour whatever they possess.'

One result of the cessation of cultivation and production was that all communication with the rest of the world came to an end. Greece became an inaccessible and unknown country. From time to time, some traveller gifted with more obstinacy, more culture, and more curiosity than almost all the rest of

* *Lettres sur la Grèce.* Paris, 1788, p. 45.

mankind, overcame the difficulties which beset him, and visited Hellas in order to see what material monuments of her past greatness might still survive, and then went away again. The impression left upon these travellers, with regard to the Hellenes, varied. Some of them left the country moved by an humane compassion, others reproached them—cruelly and unjustly—as being unworthy of the soil, that soil consecrated to civilization, upon which they had allowed themselves to be made vile. ‘When I was at Gastouni,’ says Bartholdy,* ‘I overheard a conversation between an English traveller, a Greek monk, and our own host, who was the doctor in the place. The churchman and the physician complained bitterly of the Turkish yoke. ‘God,’ said the Englishman, ‘has deprived the Hellenes of their freedom because they did not deserve to have it.’

The rich vales of the Peloponnesos almost ceased to supply any produce for commerce. Foreign relations grew less and less, ‘on account,’ as it is expressed by M. Chaptal,† ‘of the insecurity which reigns inland, where every species of disorder was rampant.’ ‘Our own French merchants’ says M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis‡ ‘were at one with those of Holland and of England in complaining, years before our Revolution, that trade in the Levant had ceased to offer the same advantages as formerly, and they attributed the miserable prices offered for their own merchandise and the diminution of their profits to the increasing poverty and depopulation of the Turkish Empire.’ The plain of Elis had become an uncultivated wilderness. ‘The execrable Government of the Morea’ says the English witness Leake§ ‘added to local tyranny, has reduced the Greeks of Gastouni to such distress that all the cultivated land is now in the hands of the Turks, and the Greek population have become cattle-feeders or mere labourers for the Turkish possessors of the soil.’ ‘The town [of Dhivri]’

* *Voyage en Grèce, traduit de l'Allemand.* Paris, 1807, II. 13.

† *De l'Industrie Française.* I. 147.

‡ *Revolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808.* Paris, 1819, I., 134.

§ *Travels in the Morea, 1805-1806.* London, 1830, I., 11.

he tells us in another place* ‘occupies a large space, the houses, to the number of 200, being dispersed in clusters over the side of the hills; but a great part of them are uninhabited. This is chiefly owing to the *angária* of the Lalliotēs, who come here and force the poor Greeks to carry straw, wood, etc., on their horses to Lalla without payment.’ The inhabitants of Monembasia and its neighbourhood had endeavoured to save themselves by emigrating to Hydra, to Spezzia, and even to Asia Minor.’ ‘Before the Russian invasion of the Morea,’ says the English traveller,† ‘there were 150 Greek families, but they, as well as the Greek inhabitants of the villages of this district, fled after that event to Asia or to Petza, Ydhra, and other islands. Some of them returned after Hassan, the Capitan Pasha, had expelled the Albanians, who had marched into the Morea against the Russo-Greeks, but the Vilayeti has never recovered its Christian population, and does not now contain more than 500 Greeks.’ ‘The town of Karitena,’ continues the same observer,‡ ‘is much depopulated of late. There now remain about 200 families, of which not more than twenty are Turkish. The emigrants have chiefly gone to the territory of Kara Osman Oglu, in Asia Minor, where they are subject only to the land tax and *kharatj*.’ The nomadic movements by which these poor wretches strove to find some amelioration in their condition by passing from one part to another of the Ottoman Empire were merely like the action of a sick man who seeks to find relief by thrusting his aching limbs first into one and then into another part of his bed of pain. Turks in Asia are just the same things as Turks in Europe. The same causes produce the same results there as elsewhere. The rich plains of the East had been reduced to the same state of barren wilderness as the vales of the West. The Asiatics were reduced to beggary as well as the Europeans. ‘The depopulation of some provinces’ testifies M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis,§ ‘has been so marked that, out of twenty flourishing

* *Ibid.*, I., 237.

† *Ibid.*, I., 204.

‡ *Ibid.*, II. 23.

§ *Révolutions de Constantinople*, I. 134.

villages which formerly existed in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, it is now scarcely possible to reckon four or five. The tyranny of the provincial Governors drives the peasants to seek refuge in the towns, and, once they are there, starvation soon decimates them.'

It was a common device to try and find relief by changing from one town into another at a small distance. The subjects of Ali Pasha at Galaxidi, for instance, endeavoured to escape by going to Bostitza. But this expedient was more difficult for those who inhabited the country remote from the sea-coast. It was the habit of Ali Pasha to make a periodical round of all the towns and villages under his jurisdiction, in order to receive the 'voluntary offerings' of his wretched subjects. 'When Ali,' says the same English observer, Leake, in another work*, 'makes a tour round this part of his territory, he never fails to visit this place. The Archons generally meet him in the plains, and offer perhaps twenty purses, begging him not to come into the town. He receives the present with smiles, promises that he will not put his friends to inconvenience; afterwards comes a little nearer, informs them that no provisions are to be had in the plain, and, after being supplied upon the promise of not entering the town, quarters on them, in the course of a day or two more, with his whole suite, perhaps for several days, nor retires until he has received a fresh donation. In these *progresses* he expects something from every village, and will accept the smallest offerings from individuals. His sons, in travelling, fail not to follow so good an example. As he dares not exercise this kind of oppression in Albania, the districts on the Eastern side of Pindus are the great sufferers; and neither pestilence nor famine are more dreaded by the poor natives than the arrival of these little scraps of coarse paper scrawled with a few Greek characters, and stamped with the well-known little seal which makes Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia tremble.'

The people of Galaxidi had taken flight because Ali Pasha wished to compel them to serve as sailors on board the fleet

* *Travels in Northern Greece*, I., 308-9.

which he was equipping. But the town of Bostitza, where they had taken refuge, is just across the water, in the Peloponnesos, and 'the present Pasha of the Morea,' as we again learn from Leake*, 'is said to have paid the Porte 400 purses for his appointment for one year, and he will probably squeeze 1,000 out of the poor province. Vanli Pasha, who was removed last year to Candia, paid 600 purses for two years, and yet greatly enriched himself. The Morea has the character of being the most profitable Pashalik in the Empire, of those, at least, which the Porte has the power of selling annually.'

As a rule, indeed, these satraps were only appointed for a period of one year at a time. The frequency of the appointments was of large pecuniary benefit to those who possessed over the Sublime Porte the influence—open or occult—necessary to secure a nomination to a provincial Pashalik. In the report † which Capodistria addressed in 1828 to the representatives of the Powers in answer to the questions which they had put to his Government, he gives some extremely interesting information as to the manner in which Pashas were in the habit of exercising their powers. 'How was it possible,' he asks, 'to look for just and enlightened administration from a Pasha who but very shortly before attaining that dignity had been in work as a slaughterman, and who is now simply the ignorant nominee of an absolute despot? . . . No man dared to open his mouth in the presence of the Pasha of the Peloponnesos. That Pasha had the power of life and death over his subjects—and they trembled whenever they had to go near his seraglio. Fear seized them before ever they found themselves within sight of the despot, or within ear-shot of the terrors of his voice. At the gate of his palace were always to be found ready waiting an hundred and fifty soldiers under full arms, an itch-aga, and an executioner. It needed only a particular sign of his head to cause any one of his petitioners to be led out to die.'

* *Travels in the Morea*. II., 346.; ed. 1830. See also Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, Chapter cxxxv., at the beginning.

† See it in Μαμούκας, *Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. II. 316.

The Turks amassed fortunes, but, as they grew richer, the people whom they ruled grew poorer. 'The Ottoman Empire,' wrote Pouqueville,* with a feeling of generous indignation, 'the Ottoman Empire is the Empire of woe. It is not like any other country in the world. The people who live in it are at once ferocious and apathetic, and are destitute of the slightest feeling for the public interest. From Constantinople to the banks of the Euphrates, and from the shores of the Bosphoros to Cattaro, the towns are cess-pools full of dung and filth: the villages are either dens of wild beasts or deserted. The exclusive subjects of conversation are pestilences, conflagrations, epidemics, and famines. The gates of the great cities are hidden by groups of gibbets and towers loaded with human skulls. The roads traversed by the local governors are lined with gory heads, stakes for impalement, and other instruments of death. The traveller meets no one who is not clad in the livery of destitution. There is no police, no public order, no rest, and no safety for life and property. The gentler virtues are unknown in this country. If a man has any money he buries it, and if he has any valuable objects he hides them in the depths of his harem. If he wishes to escape suspicion he must avoid living with the appearance of being in easy circumstances.' In the cities the Greeks inhabited quarters separated from those occupied by the Turks. The Turks inhabited the citadel, if there were one: if the town had no fortress, they expelled the Christians from the best neighbourhoods. Christians were always liable to expulsion from their dwellings at any whim of their masters. Savary relates (p. 262) a curious anecdote illustrative of this fact. The circumstance occurred in 1780, and is, as he remarks, a proof of the treatment which the Greeks received in their own country. 'With the exception of the Archbishop and of Europeans,' he says, 'no Christian has the right to ride inside a town. The Bishop of Canea took it into his head to disregard this tyrannical regulation. One evening, when he was returning from the country along with several monks, he did not dismount, but passed through and

* *Voyage en Grèce*, II. 271.

rode quickly up to his own house. The janissaries who were on guard at the gate looked on this action as an insult. The next day they roused the troops, and it was determined to burn the Bishop and the Priests. The mob, roaring curses, were already carrying combustibles to the Bishop's house, and its inhabitants could not have escaped the horrible fate to which they were destined, had not the Pasha, warned in time, issued a proclamation, by which any Greek, of what class soever, was forbidden to sleep within the walls of Canea. This prohibition was rigorously enforced, and, every evening, these wretched slaves might be seen slinking out of the gates of Rettimo, and retiring for the night into the fields.' This state of things lasted for two months, 'but,' says Savary, 'money is here the cure for all evils. The Cretans combined their resources together, and, by a very heavy bribe, obtained the revocation of the edict. The pride of their Bishop cost them dear.'

That a Christian who might happen to be on horseback had to dismount as soon as he came in sight of a Turk was not the only badge of slavery to which he found himself subject. To make a Greek smart at every turn of daily life by something to remind him of his subjection to an Osmanli, was an object upon which the Government of the Sublime Porte bestowed an almost infinite ingenuity. Thus speaks the English traveller Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkish Empire* (p. 104, ed. 1799)—'The insulting distinction of Christian and Mahomedan is carried to so great a length, that even the minutiae of dress are rendered subjects of restriction. A Christian must wear only clothes and head-dresses of dark colours, and such as Turks never wear, with slippers of black leather, and must paint his house black or dark brown. The least violation of these frivolous and disgusting regulations is punished with death.' On this head each class of inhabitant found himself under a special law. Whether a man were a Greek, an Armenian, or a Jew, was to be displayed at once by his costume. Special laws regulated the hats with which the chiefs of the Christian communi-

ties were allowed to shelter their humble heads.* Bishops and other ecclesiastics (who, be it said, enjoyed peculiar and exceptional privileges above their fellow-believers), were absolutely forbidden to wear the broad-brimmed hats which immemorial custom had assigned for their use. They were not allowed to have any brims.†

But mutilating the head-dress of the clergy was only among the minor vexations to which the adherents of the Christian religion were exposed. They were not allowed to build any new Churches, and even the repair of the old ones was only permitted by special firman, which could only be obtained with great difficulty and by means of heavy payments in money. 'According to a recent firmahn,' says Leake (*Morea*, I. 133), speaking in 1805, 'the Greeks of Mistra are allowed to repair their Churches on condition of paying 300 piastres for each to a mosque at Constantinople.' 'The Greeks [of Smyrna],' says Chandler,‡ 'before the fire [of 1764] had two Churches. They applied to their Bishop at Constantinople for leave to rebuild that which was destroyed, but the sum demanded was too exorbitant to be given.' The traveller who records this incident remarks that by the continuance of such a policy the extirpation of Christianity within the Turkish dominions was only a question of time.

The use of bells was not allowed except in a few privileged places where there were no Turks to be offended by the hateful sound. Among these favoured spots were the villages of Chios, the inhabitants of which carried on the cultivation of mastic. These villagers were exceptionally fortunate on account of their dependence upon the Imperial harem, but even they were not allowed the full enjoyment of the fruits of their own labour. One half of their entire harvest was the property of the harem, and the other half they were only permitted to sell at the price fixed by the will of the Aga of the

* See not only Eton, as above cited, but also Lacroix, *Etat présent des nations et églises grecque, armenienne, etc.*, p. 11. Paris, 1741.

† Hence the peculiar hats which long usage has now rendered the ordinary head-covering of the Greek clergy.

‡ *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 66. London, 1775.

island. The cultivation of mastic was allowed nowhere except on the land of such villages as had received the authorization of the Government.*

If a neighbourhood happened to possess any natural advantage, the feature in question, instead of proving a benefit to the inhabitants, was immediately made a source of misery and oppression. Thus, for instance, there is a spot near Kandelion in the Peloponnesos, where the snow lies long. 'The mountain on the left,' says Leake (*Morea*, III. 109), 'has a remarkable cavern, or shady hollow, an unlucky circumstance for the poor Kandiolites, who are obliged to supply the serai at Tripolitza from it, and carry the snow there at their own expense.'

But it was not necessary to be a Pasha in order to be able to maltreat Christians. Anybody who was a Turk was allowed to do it to his heart's content. For instance, Col. Leake saw a Turk kill a Greek peasant at the gate of Larissa, because the Christian had an ass loaded with charcoal, which he wished to carry for sale to the market-place (in hopes of a more certain, as well as a higher price for it), instead of letting the Turk have it. It is hardly necessary to add, as the conclusion of this example, that the *cadi* declared the murderer guiltless. The only chance the other way would have been if the family of the victim had had more money.

Whenever a suit lay between a Christian and a Mahomedan, no Christian was admitted as a witness. This provision of Turkish law, however, it must be owned, pressed with comparative lightness upon such Christians as were wealthy, because Turkish witnesses are never wanting to call God to witness to anything, as long as a suitor is able as well as willing to pay them to do so; and if he also possess the funds needful for securing the favour of the judge, the latter is exceedingly easy as to the character of the witnesses. The drawback to this method in the eyes of Christians, viz., that the righteous and the innocent are thus exposed to ruin and to

* Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, fait par ordre du gouvernement*. Paris. Year IX., Vol. I., pp. 285-9.

death through the words of a few hired perjurers, is not one which a Turk regards as of any consequence.

'In every province of the Morea,' said Capodistria, in the statement already cited,† 'in every province of the Morea there was a *cadi* nominated by the *cajasker* of Roumelia. Such a *cadi* held his post for a period varying from six to twelve months, or, on some rare occasions, for as much as eighteen months. He was the judge, and the judge without appeal, of every civil and commercial cause, of whatever nature or of whatever magnitude, and to him appertained likewise the duty of enforcing his own decisions. The execution of the judgment could alone be suspended by an appeal to the Pasha, at the centre of administration, Tripolitza. These facultative appeals were a mere abuse of power. From the Pasha there was no appeal. And yet law-suits dragged on and on. Turkish jurisprudence, obscure and often inconsistent, allowed of differing opinions by the *ulemas* which only made confusion worse confounded.'

It is probably not difficult for the reader to form some idea of the sort of justice which was meted out by such tribunals. In Pouqueville's *Voyage en Grèce* (IV. 231) will be found an account of the judicial method adopted by the Pasha of Tripolitza for clearing himself of his liabilities towards his doctor who had lent him money. It was simple.

Besides this, it was not held as a crime in a Turk to murder a Christian. 'It may be further remarked,' says Eton (101), 'that there is not one instance of a *fetva* which declares the murder of Christians to be contrary to the faith; or of any argument drawn from justice or religion, used to dissuade the Sultans from perpetrating such an enormity. The pleaders for mercy have been guided by policy or moved by compassion.' But on the other hand, as we find remarked by the same writer (98), 'A Christian may not kill a Mahomedan even in self-defence; if a Christian only strikes a Mahomedan, he is most commonly put to death on the spot, or, at least, ruined by fines and severely bastinadoed; if he strikes, though by

* *Mamoukas*, vol. XI., pp. 312 *et seq.*

accident, a *Sherif* (*emil* in Turkish, i.e., a descendant of Mahomed, who wear green turbans), of whom there are thousands in some cities, it is death without remission.'

Wherever there was most reason to be apprehensive of the Christian population, the Turks made it a principle to treat them with especial severity. Thus we learn from Olivier (i. 214) that in Crete, 'whether it be that the Sfakiotes inspire them with mistrust, or because the great number of the Greeks renders it necessary for them to be upon their guard, the Turks are here more given than anywhere else, upon the slightest pretext, either to kill a Greek with their own hands or to send him for execution.'

It is, no doubt, true, as has been before remarked, that for those who have money enough, it has always been possible to purchase the friendship, or at least the protection, of Turks. 'The whole Divan,' remarks Felix Beaujour, 'is for sale, if only the intending purchaser has money enough wherewith to buy it; and this is the reason why the Beys and the Agas utilize the provinces to obtain the means of saving themselves from the bowstring and acquiring appointments to the office of Pasha.'

Venality was the grand principle which formed the groundwork of the whole administration of the Pashas. 'They buy their appointments,' continues Beaujour (II. 181), 'at Constantinople, where there is nothing which is not for sale, and they recoup themselves anyhow they can. Throughout the whole of the Ottoman Empire, the Governors work an inexhaustible mine of fines.'

In other words, the whole tribe, from the Sultan himself down to the smallest personage in the employment of his government, live by sucking their subjects. It is a long and thorough experience of the Turkish race which has generated the Greek proverb—

Τούρκον εἶδες, ἀσπρα θέλει,
κι ἄλλον εἶδες, κι ἄλλα θέλει.

The most convenient medium for the extortions of the Turkish Governors was the *Kharatch*, or poll-tax. The *Kharatch* or

death, was the alternative offered to every Christian. Everyone who paid it took care to secure his receipt, and yet the Governmental receipt often proved to be no protection against the ingenious rapacity of the tax-gatherer. The language of the receipt itself is striking. 'Every *Raya*,' says Eton (98), 'every *Raya* (that is, every subject who is not of the Mahomedan religion) is allowed only the cruel alternative of death or tribute; and even this is arbitrary in the breast of the conqueror. The very words of the formulary, given to their Christian subjects on paying the capitation-tax, import that the sum of money received is taken as a compensation for being permitted to wear their heads that year.'

The nominal figure of the poll-tax was not high. But the publicans or collectors to whom the collection of the tax was farmed always found means for extorting from the tax-payers at least double the sum which found its way into the Treasury. It is unnecessary to say that this difference of more than 50 per cent. went into their own pockets. The abuses committed in the collection of this tax, as well as the stamp of inferiority which it was intended to impress, rendered the *Kharatch* more odious than the tithe, or than any other of the varied means of extortion and oppression which the fiscal ingenuity of the Turks devised for enabling them to harass and to beggar their wretched Christian subjects.

The *Kharatch* was of three sorts. The first applied to the rich, who were legally subject to a payment of twelve or fourteen piastres per head. The second class of contributories embraced all other adults, from artisans and labourers down to the very beggars, without any exception. These paid half as much per head as was paid by the rich. Lastly, came children of fourteen years of age and under, who were assessed at three piastres each, beginning to be liable at the age of eight years in towns and at that of five years in the country. 'If' says Beaujour (i. 51.) 'the father of a little Greek raises any dispute as to his exact age, the tax-gatherers measure the child's head with a cord, which is made to serve as a sort of standard, and,

as they can always make the cord what length they like, the father can always be proved in the wrong.*

The Greeks of the islands were justly considered to be the least unfortunate of their race, since, as a rule, there was no Turkish population settled among them. But with the return of each spring-time and the accompanying appearance of the Capitan-Pasha to levy the taxes, the islanders were made to suffer at one blow the accumulated evils which they had been spared during the preceding twelve months. The Capitan-Pasha, like his brethren of the land, extorted under the name of offerings and presents to himself, a sum at least equal to the total of the poll-tax and other imposts which he raised on behalf of the Treasury. At the same time also, his officers and other myrmidons down to the private soldiers, swarmed about over the islands, wringing subsidies for themselves out of the poverty of the inhabitants. It was in vain that these latter fled to their mountains, to hide themselves in dens and caves of the earth, or sought to conceal the few objects of value which they might possess. The Turks seized the elders and put them to the bastinado, until their wives had brought them their trinkets, and those of the women their neighbours. It was, moreover, very often the case that the Turks, after appropriating the jewellery, threw husband, wife, and child together into slavery.†

Besides this, the inhabitants of the isles and of the coasts were subject to a conscription of young men for service in the fleet. It is true that the number of young men so taken was

* On the subject of the system of taxation which prevailed in the Turkish Empire before the war of 1821, and especially with regard to the *Kharatch*, the first chapter of the fifth volume of Pouqueville's *Voyage en Grèce* may be consulted, as well as the work of Felix Beaujour, and that of Eton, already cited, p. 35 *et seq.* Tournefort and Choiseul-Gouffier give detailed accounts of the islands visited by them. Juchereau de St. Denis estimates the sum received by the State, under the head of *Kharatch*, at about £60,000. It is as well, also, to consult the work of Maschobákēs upon the state of the law in Greece during the Turkish domination. (Athens, 1882.)

† Eton, p. 177; Choiseul Gouffier, I. 185. See also an article by the author, in the *Ecra* newspaper for June 20, 1882, upon the capture of a Turkish frigate by the Christian slaves on board her.

not sufficient to imperil the natural increase of the population, and that the denial of Christianity was not imposed upon them. But the sea-faring population bewailed nevertheless the loss of their sons, whom the will of their tyrants tore from their homes. It was a tax of blood which was paid with tears.

Yet the conscription of sea-faring lads was as nothing in comparison with that indescribable blood-tax, the conscription of little children, which lasted till towards the close of the Seventeenth Century, and the memory of which haunted every Greek home like the presence of a devil. Every five years the agents of the Janissary regiments went through Greece, and took away one little boy out of every five over seven years of age. It is unnecessary to say that they chose the most beautiful. The fathers and mothers knew that the children they thus lost were lost to them for ever, that they would become Mohammedans, live and die Janissaries. As for the race, this tribute threatened its very existence, the very hope of its future was turned against it, its persecutors forged from its own very blood the instruments of their oppression. Bondage seemed a light thing in comparison with this tribute. No other enslaved nation has ever had to suffer such a torture as this.

Thus lived the Greek race from the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821. They seemed to be buried, if not crushed, under the sufferings and degradations entailed by their slavery. And yet they still kept heart alive, because they knew that their racial existence was not dead. The very contempt with which their savage masters held themselves separate from the 'unbelievers' served to cherish and foster both the consciousness of nationality and the sentiment of nationalism. Under the heavy rod of Osmanli despotism the Greeks stood apart as a separate and peculiar people, all the members of which were bound one to another throughout the whole breadth of the Turkish Empire, not only by the threefold tie of one blood, one tongue, and one religion, but also by the very political and social organization to which

they had been subjected by their conquerors at the date of the fall of their country.

When Mahomet II. had made himself master of Constantinople, he empowered the Œcumenical Patriarch to exercise over his co-religionists a civil jurisdiction which practically rendered this ecclesiastic the head of the Greek nation. The Patriarch's enjoyment of this office was accompanied by certain privileges and his investiture by certain external marks of honour. In adopting this course of action the Turkish conqueror has been accredited with the intention 'of rendering their bondage less irksome to the Greeks and of accustoming them to bear its yoke, by the concession not only of liberty of conscience but also of the right to the public celebration of their religious worship.*' Whether these were Mahomet's motives at all, may well be questioned. Certainly, they were not his sole motives.

It was impossible that the supreme Pontiff of Islam, the Khalifeh of the True-Believers, should profane his sacred character by sinking so low as to concern himself with the civil or religious affairs of infidels. The prescriptions of the Mohammedan religion left a choice of two alternatives for his new subjects. They might either become Moslems or they might redeem their lives by a regular payment in tribute. For those Christians who chose the latter alternative, the Turkish Government devised the special organization of which they made the Patriarch of Constantinople the pivot, with the view of concentrating the central control of the whole national affairs of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-believers in the hands of this one man, and thus having this complete control directly, easily, and simply, under their own eye and hand, in the person of an officially recognised head and representative. It may perhaps also be the case that, by investing the Patriarch with this character, they hoped to prevent any action of the Orthodox in the direction of an inter-communion with the Latins, since it was possible that a re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches might have raised fresh forces against the

* Lacroix. *Etat présent des églises grecques*, 758.

common enemy of all Christianity, and that to this end also was designed the high position with which they sought to enhance the dignity of the ruling pastor in the eyes of his flock.*

The Patriarch accordingly obtained privileges which gave him what might be called, in a sense, a sort of relative independence. He was solemnly invested with an almost sovereign authority over his co-religionists. He was the person who was their representative in the eyes of the Sublime Porte. He was elected by the Prelates and the representatives of the laity. He was responsible to no authority except the Divan, and to the Divan only in case he were accused by the Synod. He was the Supreme Head of the clergy, and over them he possessed the power of exercising criminal jurisdiction. He had a power of direction over every church, and the financial affairs of each were subject to his control. Over the laity he was invested with a judicial authority which extended not only over all matrimonial cases but also over every case where the parties concerned were both Christians, whatever the character of the question, unless the parties themselves voluntarily elected to compare before the Turkish tribunals rather than before that of the Patriarch. These powers the Œcumenical Patriarch was in the habit of delegating to the different Archbishops and Bishops, as his Legates in the provinces. Even the humbler of the clergy shared in the advantages of the jurisdiction with which their Head was invested. They were exempt from the *Kharatch* (poll-tax) and were allowed themselves to levy a tax upon every Christian family, in order to meet the expenses incidental to the discharge of the public functions which were conferred upon them by law.†

The result of all this peculiar legislation for conferring a Temporal Power upon the Patriarch of Constantinople, was of course to establish an *imperium in imperio*—a Patriarchal Temporal Power inside a Mohammedan Temporal Power. Nor need it be disputed that in an ideal state of things this arrangement might have served very well, not only for smoothing over

* See Maschobakes, p. 51.

† See Maschobakes, as before, and also Mamoukas, XI., 308.

the various difficulties which necessarily resulted from the political and social revolution of 1453, but also as leading to an improvement in the future position of the Christian population. That such might, however, have been the result, pre-supposed certain conditions which did not exist. The Turkish Government, on the one side, would have had to have been somewhat less savage, fanatical, cruel, and tyrannical, and the Greek clergy, upon the other, would have had to possess a morality rather higher than that which had already existed among them in the last days of the Empire, and which had been shaken still lower by the terrible cataclysm of the Mohammedan conquest and by the consequent annihilation or expatriation of all the best surviving elements in Byzantine society. The real marvel is, not that things were no better, but that they were no worse—that the clerical group thus placed at the head of the Hellenic people showed themselves endowed with such an amount both of intelligence and of patriotism as to render it possible to preserve and to uphold the standard of Hellenism beneath the shelter of the Phanar.

It must be remarked, at the same time, that the conquered Christians had no guarantee whatever to assure to them the continuance of the privileges which had been solemnly promised to them at the moment of the conquest. As a matter of fact, several of the successors of the conqueror annulled at their mere will the concessions granted by their predecessors. In 1519, for instance, the Christians of Constantinople were deprived of all their stone churches, with the exception of two, the largest of which was taken from them in 1607.* There were some Turks who even went so far as to advocate the extermination of the *giaours*. Mahomet II. himself degraded the Patriarch Joasaph (the second successor of Gennadios) and caused not only his beard but also his nose to be cut off, because he refused to contravene the Canons of the Church by giving a dispensation to the Protovestiaros to contract a bigamous marriage with the daughter of Demetrios Assam, Lord of Athens, during the lifetime of the lawful wife of the said Protovestiaros—the which

* See 'Τύχηλάντου, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν *Αλωσιν'. Constantinople, 1870, p. 123.

refusal brought upon the Patriarch in question the wrath of the Sultan, or rather, of the Pasha, who happened to be a personal friend of the Protovestiarior. When it came to be a question of electing a successor to Joasaph, one section of the electors sent the Sultan an offering of a thousand pieces of gold, as an accompaniment to a petition that they might be allowed to elect anyone whom they chose. The Sultan pocketted their money, called them fools for their pains, and said 'Elect whoever you like.' *

This little incident typifies from the very commencement the relations of the master to his slaves. The Sultan called them fools for their pains—but he pocketted their money. He did not care a straw what was the condition of Christians, as other rulers would have cared about the condition of any large and important class of their subjects. His only idea was how much he could get out of them, the same consideration which presents itself to the mind of the conquering side in a war, when settling the amount of indemnity to be exacted from the losers. On the other hand, the Christians had already learnt by experience to know that with Turks, money, nothing but money, but money, is Almighty, and that the Sultan himself is for sale. So they made haste to meet his wishes, and thenceforward has continued the system of venality which forms the very base and pivot of the whole administration of the Ottoman Empire.

This system of venality is one of which the higher clergy of the Christian Church have not always been able to avoid the contagion. The Bishops had to obtain their Sees by bribery, and they could only retain possession of them by bribing the Pashas, and by other forms of self-degradation. It was not very long before the habit of giving money to their masters began to be accompanied by that of wringing it out of their flocks. It was the Turks who invested the Bishops with power, and they imbibed with it some of the Turkish habits in its use. And yet, all the same, covered as she was by the leprosy of venality aggravated by all the ills of slavery, the Greek Church never lost the consciousness of her

* *Turco-Græcia*, pp. 21, *et seq.* and *Τὴν ἑλάννην* p. 19.

duty towards the Greek nation. While that dark night lasted there were always to be found some Bishops whose virtues redeemed the vices of so many of their brethren. In short—and say what we will—the Greek people owe to their Church the preservation of their Faith, of their Language, and of their Unity. And their Church will never find their gratitude lacking towards her. The errors of the past were more than atoned by the death of the Patriarch Gregory, by the patriotic devotion of Germanus of Patras, and by the deeds of so many other Prelates who have died the Martyrs or lived as the Confessors of the cause of our National Independence.

Moreover, the results of living under the Turkish Empire were not confined to the clergy. The evil was in the fact. Priest or layman, Patriarch or Grand-Dragoman, it was the same thing. Every Christian who accepted authority from the Turkish Government and used it in their name, was brought, willed he, nilled he, to the same expedients—cringing before his owners and bullying his humbler fellow-slaves. The very Elders of the country villages were not always exceptions to this rule—a fact quite sufficiently attested by the meaning which is attached to the title '*codja-bashi*' in the Peloponnesos.

The degradation which the national character suffered under the influence of such causes was really the greatest both of the dangers and of the evils of slavery. Happily, amid this deterioration, the Hellenic people never lost the sense of their own dignity. And it was this sense which breathed a life ever keener and more keen into their longing to be free. It was not the hardships alone of the life of slavery which they bewailed: the consciousness of dishonour smarted still more. It is sufficient to cite in proof the writings which Hellenes were able at that epoch to publish in foreign countries, and, after the war broke out, the documents in which the insurgents made known to Europe their resolve to die sooner than endure again what they had suffered for so long.

At the same time, and notwithstanding all that may be said as to the tyrannical misconduct of some village elders in some parts of Greece, it is still none the less true that the communal system was the social anchor to which Hellenism owed its preservation.

The Patriarchate, as has been already remarked, supplied the element of political unity, and afforded what may be termed the external expression of national life. The Grand Dragomen, the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the aristocracy of the Phanar in general, by being in the eyes of the Turks and of foreigners the representatives of the New Hellenism as it quickened, exercised upon the destinies of their race an influence as fortunate as it was powerful. But it was in and by the communal system that shape was given to the home life of the people.

The pressure of slavery under the foreigner, which weighed upon all alike, not only made warmer the ties which bound the members of every family one to another, but also bound each to all within every little community. Like the members of a larger family, every member of the community, by helping his brother, found it less hard both to suffer and to resist in the common interest of all. They were not free, but they found in the community a certain field for social activity which, narrow as it was, recalled, after a fashion, what life had been in the days of independence, and so, in a fashion, carried on the old memories of national life and made ready, in a way, for the coming Hellas of the New Birth. It is needless here to enter into the question whether the communal system which existed in Greece under the Turks owed its origin to classical or to mediæval times. This is a question which concerns rather the students of the monuments of past history. But the phenomenon of these *demoi*, all independent of each other, differing so widely from each other in regard to details, and yet all recognizing, as the very basis of their organization, the equality of the electors and the responsibility of the elected,—this phenomenon, presented by surviving Hellas, so vividly recalls, in its varied unity, the character of the ancient Hellas, that if it be not indeed an unbroken inheritance from her early days, it is hard not to admit that it was at the least but a new flower upon the old stem still growing in the old soil.

Fortunately, it did not occur to the Turks to make any attack

upon the communal system. On the contrary, they found that it suited their system of administration very well, and they accepted it quite willingly. Just as they made the Patriarch of Constantinople responsible for the whole race, so did they make the elders responsible for the whole of each community. Thus the communal system served greatly to simplify the machinery of government. It was an easy way of assessing the tribute, regulating the forced labour, and getting in the *Kharatch*, and the subjects of these imposts found them less difficult to bear when they were able to adjust the weight of the burdens among themselves without being harassed by the intervention of Turks. It is true that there were many places where the relief thus obtained was but small, owing to the presence of Turkish persecutors, whether official or private, and acting either in the name of the Imperial Exchequer, or in virtue of that right to oppress which every Turk claims for himself. But there were also many places where there were no Turks, and where the population could consequently breathe freely and the community flourished. The communal system, by binding the interests of every individual to those of institutions common to all, by allowing to all some occupation other than that of trying to meet the exactions of the tax-gatherer, by concerning all in the local government, in the affairs of schools and hospitals, in the management of the police, and in the development of the resources of the country, prepared the people for freedom, and gave some foretaste of the progress of which they would be capable whenever they were delivered from the burden of the Turkish domination.

When the War of Independence broke out, these communal societies served as centres of activity, and also as bases for the new organization of the country. Then did the Elders of all kinds, Proestôtes, Codjabashis, Demogerontes, Ephoroi, or Epitropoi, put themselves at the head of their freed fellow-countrymen and contribute to form an aristocracy of champions of the Fatherland; they, like the Prelates of the Church and the rest of the Phanariote hierarchy, now cast aside the signs of their slavery and degradation, threw themselves upon the side of their

country, and contended for the honour of leading the national movement and of striving to ensure its success.

It was when the war broke out that the vastness of the gulf by which nature has separated Hellen from Turk became most strikingly visible. For four centuries had they been associated in intimate contact. Mutual familiarity had done nothing but intensify their mutual hatred. While the Turk degraded and corrupted the Greek population, it had never occurred to him to try and attract even the principal inhabitants towards his system or to make it the interest of any of them to support it. The Osmanli Government looked upon all Hellenes as its enemies, and treated them accordingly.

Hence it came to pass that even those who did not approve the revolutionary outbreak, cast themselves into it, because they realized that such a course was less dangerous for them than to adhere to the Turks. But it is not in this direction that we are to seek the causes of the national movement. The cause of the war was the gradual and universal awakening of the Hellenic people.

The author of these essays has elsewhere* remarked how large a part in this awakening was due to the increase of education. It is true enough that Hellenic culture had never entirely died out. But in the earlier periods of Ottoman domination, it was confined to a few clergy who enjoyed an ecclesiastical education, and a still more limited number of laymen who found means to pursue the study of letters and of the sciences. The mass of the population was plunged in ignorance. The village teacher was generally the Parish Priest, and the few pupils whom he could gather around him under the shadow of his Church acquired little more than a mechanical power of reading the Psalms and the other contents of the ecclesiastical office-books. These humble schools did little more than supply a proof that the love of learning, which is in-born in the Hellenic mind, was not dead. They were, so to speak, only the little morsel of leaven which was destined in the future to leaven the whole mass. But from

* *περί Νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας, δοκίμιον.* London, 1871.

the Seventeenth Century, the Hellenes in the service of the Porte afforded their aid to the Patriarchate in commencing an extended system of education, by founding schools and protecting the teachers and their pupils. The true development, however, did not take place until still later, especially towards the end of the last Century. Then it was that the lowly teachers of the preceding generations gave place to men of learning, who were imbued with an enlightened love for the classical glory of their race, and kindled with a passionate desire for its renewal. Henceforward many an Hellenic town had a school, and pupils came in thither from the country round about. In these schools, moreover, the works of the classical authors and of the Fathers of the Church no longer formed the only subjects of study. In them were to be learnt the results of modern science, which cultured Greeks were now busying themselves in communicating to their countrymen, either by original works or by translations of the best foreign treatises.*

The principal source which supplied means to education, and was the strongest lever for raising the Greek people out of the rut of lethargy into which they had fallen, was Commerce. Commercial activity dates its revival from the Eighteenth Century.

‘The Greeks of other days,’ said M. Juchereau de St. Denis (I. 155), ‘crushed under the yoke of Osmanli despotism, used to get European merchandise through the hands of European agents, established in the different seaports of the Levant. Within the last fifty years, under the impulse of their constantly disappointed hopes for a brighter future, they have taken to studying our language, imitating some of our manners and customs, and trying to gain some knowledge of Europe by personal observation.’

From the epoch when he wrote, the commerce of the Levant became mainly centred in the hands of Hellenes. Little by little, the Christian’s home began to learn what is meant by ease

* See the *Σχέδιασμα περί τῆς κατὰστάσεως τῶν γραμμάτων*, by Paranikas (Constantinople, 1867), and also the fuller work upon public instruction in Greece by Chassiotes (Paris, 1881).

and comfort, and with material improvement, began the aspiration after a higher intellectual and moral position. These happy results of commercial activity were not confined to Constantinople, to Smyrna, to Thessalonica,* or to the isles of the *Ægean*, whose merchant ships were now beginning, in ever increasing numbers, to bear to their rocky homes the wealth which was destined, later on, to keep alive the War of Independence. The improvement was to be seen here and there in landward Hellas, wherever the absence of Turks permitted some out-of-the-way village to enjoy a certain amount of security and of freedom. The commercial and industrial development achieved by these communities, was itself a clear proof of the talent and the activity inherent in the Hellenic population. The existence of such oases in the midst of the desert of Osmanli savagery, startled the few travellers who were able to reach them, by recalling the memories of European civilization. The German Bartholdy, a man whose prepossessions are sufficiently unfavourable to the Hellenes, was astonished to find at Ampelakia,† in Thessaly, several persons who were capable of addressing him in his mother-tongue, and he was still more astonished when he found that they had given themselves, as a recreation, the opening of a little theatre, in which they were representing Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue*, which was then in vogue in civilized Europe. At Katarrytes, at Syracon, in Epiros,‡ similar phenomena were to be found. 'It is the tradition of Kalarytes,' says Leake,§ 'that the Vlakhotes

* See Félix Beaujour, *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce, 1787-1797*, Paris, Year VIII; and also the Comte Chaptal, *De l'industrie Française*, Paris, 1789, vol. I., where there is a special chapter upon the trade of the Levant,

† French translation (*Voyage en Grèce*), I. 183, *et seq.* Félix Beaujour speaks of Ampelakia, I. 272, *et seq.* He gives full particulars of the organisation of this Thessalian township as an industrial community. He says that there were 25 factories, where 2,500 bales of cotton were dyed in a year. This industry was based upon the red dye, commonly called the Andrianople red, and it is not generally known that this trade was introduced into France from Greece. See M. Chaptal, *L'art de la teinture du coton en rouge*. Paris, 1807.

‡ See Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, II. 173, *et seq.*, and Leake, *Northern Greece*, I. 274.

§ *Northern Greece*, I. 274. See also Pouqueville, II. 431.

have not been settled in this part of Pindus more than 250 years, which is very credible, as it is not likely that they quitted the more fertile parts of Thessaly until they felt the oppression of the Turkish conquerors, and their inability to resist it. The removal has not been unfortunate, for their descendants have thereby enjoyed a degree of repose, and have obtained advantages which their former situation could hardly have admitted. They began by carrying to Italy the woollen cloaks, called *Cappe*, which are made in these mountains, and much used in Italy and in Spain, as well as by the Greeks themselves. This opened the route to a more extended commerce: they now share with the Greeks in the valuable trade of colonial produce between Spain or Malta, and many are owners of both ship and cargo. The wealthier inhabitants are merchants, who have resided abroad many years in Italy, Spain, or the dominions of Austria or Russia, and who, after a long absence, return with the fruits of their industry to their native towns, which they thus enrich, and, in some degree civilize. But they seldom return for permanent residence till late in life, being satisfied in the interval with two or three short visits. The middle classes pursue a similar course; but, as their traffic seldom carries them so far from home as the higher order of merchants, they return more frequently, and many of them spend a part of every summer in their native place.

At Sialista, in Macedonia, there could hardly be said to be a single family some member of which was not established in Italy, in Hungary, in Austria, or in Germany. Among the old men in the town, there were very few who had not lived abroad for ten or twelve years. Among the mountain villages near Volo, in Thessaly, the same activity was attended by the same results. It is to these merchants, while either still living in some foreign land or when returned to their native country, that Hellas owes that wonderful revival of popular education which preceded her political resurrection. Such men were the Zosimai, the Mourousoi, the Kaplanai, and so many other benefactors of their race. Such men were those who founded and endowed schools. These were they who were either themselves workers in the fields of literature and learning, or who generously subsidized and supported the publication of useful books by others. These were they who

made themselves the leading apostles of freedom and of civilization, by telling their fellow-countrymen what they had heard and seen in the dominions of civilized governments, and exciting in them the desire to obtain the like blessings for their own land. It is among these merchants that are to be found the names of the first founders of the *Hetairia*. It was principally from among them that were drawn the emissaries who spread through the provinces and colonies of the Hellenic race the secret knowledge of the national movement which was about to break forth. Of 692 names of members of the *Hetairia*, 251 are those of businessmen, and 35 of ship-captains.* The wealth which trade and commerce had amassed in Greek hands was freely and readily offered for the needs of their country.

But it was not alone the development of trade which engendered the War of Independence. Trade brought material well-being, trade brought about and helped relations with foreign countries, trade brought out and hastened the moral and intellectual awakening of the people, trade stirred up the desire to be free; trade was the mother of those merchant-ships wherein were trained the sailors who have gained immortality by labouring and fighting for Greece. Trade was like a quickening breeze which blew upon the grey heap of ashes until the fire, which smouldered below, broke out into a clear blaze. But the fire had been there all the while, and the fuel was ready to be re-kindled. The Church and the communal system had saved the integrity and the unity of the nation. The class of men who surrounded the Patriarchal throne at Constantinople had shown their intellectual and political superiority over the Turks. The *Kleptai* and the *Armatoloi*, by handing down from generation to generation the warrior-spirit of our race had given a continuous promise—a promise since fulfilled by what deeds! and by what devotion!—that when the hour for battle came, *Hellas* would have children who could fight for her. All these things together showed that Greece was ready for liberty. All her population

* See the appendix to the 1st vol. of Philemon's *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως*.

were but awaiting the moment to shake their chains from their limbs. The Hetairia did it, because the hour was come. When the sowers of that brotherhood went forth to sow, they found everywhere good ground, ready to receive the seed which has now begun to give to Hellas the first fruits of her second spring-time.

There were some people at the time of the outbreak of the war—and there have been some since—who thought that the outbreak was premature. It is possible, from one point of view, to understand this opinion. On the side of the Hellenes there was a want of organization either military or political, there was the want of sufficient means, and there was the want of any alliance or of any hope of help from any foreign nation. On the side of the Osmanlis there was power and strength, vast, bloated, overwhelming: all went to show that the battle must be a very hard one, and that success was very problematical. And, as a matter of fact, for many a long year, as she writhed against her gigantic oppressor, Hellas bled heavily. For ten years, in a war wherein she received no quarter, her population was much more than decimated, in the field, in massacres, in epidemics. Anything which Turkish savagery had hitherto by any accident spared went now. The towns were destroyed. The country was laid waste. Anyone who happened to have any property lost it. There was not a family which had not agony and martyrdom carried into its midst. And when it was over—when so much blood had been shed, and so much suffering borne, it was only a little fraction of the Hellenic race who obtained independence. Three hundred thousand Hellenes gave up their lives, in order that six hundred thousand might be free.* We have had to wait fifty years more to see another scrap—a very small one—of Hellenic soil, liberated by the will of Europe. God knows how long the Hellenes who still are slaves will have to wait before the hour of deliverance strikes. Perhaps I should have expressed myself better by saying, how long the alien tribes, which have immigrated into the Balkan peninsula and are striving to make themselves a way to the

* Herzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, IV. 590.

shores of the Greek sea, will be tolerated in their efforts to defraud Hellas of her rights.

The people who blame the War of Independence for having been premature are fond of saying that if the Hellenes had only been content to go on living quietly under the Turks, they would have ended by becoming gradually more and more powerful both in the administration and in the Government, that their superior intelligence, education, and adroitness would have enabled them peacefully to take the places of their masters, while they would at the same time have preserved and confirmed their moral and political supremacy over all the other races which inhabit the Turkish Empire. By such means, argue these thinkers, the Hellenes, by stepping gently and imperceptibly into the shoes of the Turks upon the one side, and uniting themselves with all other sorts and conditions of Christians, upon the other, would have been enabled, by sheer force of time and events, to raise again upon the shores of the Bosphoros that Christian Empire which was felled by Mahomet II.

These dreamers forget that when the Hellenes took up arms, they proclaimed their indestructible rights, and not their own rights only, but the rights of every race which the Osmanli had enslaved. These dreamers forget that if the Hellenes had not claimed and won those rights, these same Hellenes themselves, and all the other Christians in the Turkish Empire, and all the other peoples in it, and the Turks themselves along with them, would have been very likely to have fallen one solid prey to Another Conqueror—Another Conqueror, whom Turkey's constantly growing weakness must necessarily have invited to come in at last, and to take all,—a Conqueror, strong and civilized,—a Conqueror, within whose mighty Empire Hellas would have run much chance of losing the very consciousness of her nationality, as she must have lost even the dream of independence.

And even if that had not been so, to what depths of degradation would the Greek race have sunk had they refused to the ancestral blood which filled their veins the honoured task of washing out the stains of slavery? If they had thrown

themselves solely upon their intellectual acumen and trusted to nothing but to the power of their superiority in cabal and intrigue to enable them to restore the Byzantine Empire? Half a century has passed by now since the War of Independence, and yet that long lapse of time has not been long enough to remove all the stains which the degradation of Turkish slavery have left upon the character of our race. No, a people who voluntarily keep their chains around them are a people who are not worthy to be free. The second birth of Hellas was a thing which could not if it ought, and ought not, even if it could, have been the work of Christians disguised as Pashas. It was not and is not the destiny of Hellenism to effect a reconstruction of the old Greco-Roman Empire. It was right that Hellenic independence should be won, as it was won, sword in hand and at a great cost. Some people say that that cost was too great. If so it be, so much the greater ought to be the gratitude of posterity towards those who did not grudge the price. It is owing to them that Hellas has once more taken her name and place among the nations, with the light of a new morning beginning to glow round her head.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΑΔΕ.

ART. VII.—JULIUS WOLFF.

WE live in an age of contrasts so sharply opposed to one another, that it would seem difficult, if not impossible, to imagine them contemporaneous. Intellect and feeling are as if arrayed in hostile ranks; and while the one, raising the standard of science, presses forward into worlds unknown, denying and rejecting much of what former times revered and bequeathed as a sacred legacy to the present day, in her eagerness to grasp at the heritage of the future; the other, equally negligent of the present, turns with a passionate fondness to the past, and evokes all its shadowy forms and outward signs to repeople the world of fancy. Perhaps it is because re-action is a necessary law in the intellectual as well as in the

moral world, that the same generation which has witnessed the marvellous discoveries whereby time and space, and all so-called natural conditions may be set at nought, has also seen the revival of the Arthurian legends in our literature, a reproduction of Queen Anne's furniture in our houses, and Kate Greenaway dresses for our children.

The same tendency is observable among our Teutonic cousins; equally fervid in the pursuit of knowledge, and pushing science and investigation to the furthest limits, they have at the same time, with no less tenderness, reverted to all that was old-German, and a new school of poets has appeared, under whose potent spell the vague shadowy legends of old have re-assumed form and substance for whoso will read them.

Julius Wolff, one of the most eminent of these writers, was born on September 16th, 1834, at Quedlinburg, in an old-fashioned gable-roofed house, full of nooks and corners, such as he loves to describe in his works, and surrounded by the wild romantic scenery of the Hartz mountains, which we likewise meet with in his poetry. His father was the owner of a large cloth-factory in the town, and here Julius, after a happy student-life in Berlin, was for a time employed. His surroundings, however, were entirely uncongenial to his nature, though the opposition which all his attempts at literary pursuits met with from his friends and relations, was so strong that, for a time, he was obliged to yield to it, and only indulge secretly in what was his real vocation.

In 1869 he commenced his literary career by founding the *Harzer Zeitung*, but when the Franco-German war broke out, he joined the army, where he gained the Iron Cross. In 1871 appeared his first volume of poetry *Kriegslieder* (war-songs). His next attempt was more ambitious — *Till Eulenspiegel ridivivus*, for which he had some difficulty in finding a publisher, till the firm of Meyer in Detmold spontaneously offered to bring it before the public. It quickly won popularity for the writer, by the harmony and ease of the verses, the lively exuberant fancy, interwoven with a genuinely patriotic feeling.

Even more successful was his second work, *Der Rattenfänger* (Ratcatcher) *von Hameln*, which has since been brought on the

stage in various forms with success. The subject is identical with that of Robert Browning's humorous poem, but the treatment is entirely different, for, except in the Mayor's description, at the Town Council, of the daily sufferings caused by the swarms of rats and mice, a pathetic, and we might almost say, tragical element pervades Wolff's poem. The ratcatcher himself, with his mysterious power of fascination over human beings as well as animals, has nothing of the ludicrous character of the 'Pied Piper of Hameln,' but might almost be termed a German version of the classical myth of Orpheus. The double love-story with its fatal interweaving is sweet and touching, and the little songs scattered throughout the work have a spontaneousness which recalls the warbling of birds.

For the sake of those of our readers to whom the German original is closed, we give an attempt at translations of some of these songs, which, however inadequate, are kept as close as possible to the meaning, metre and feeling of Wolff's poetry.

' Ruddy ringlets has my love,
As any fox so red,
And teeth as white as ivory,
And lynx-eyes in her head.

Her cheeks are like the rose's leaf,
Her lips like any cherry ;
And when my love awakes from sleep,
She steps erect and merry.

A roguish imp lurks in her wit,
Her chin can boast a dimple,
Her little heart is pure as gold,
Her mind is good and simple.

Her speech and laughter like a bell,
And like a lark's her singing,
And she can curtsy and can dance,
And rival cricket's springing.

And how she loves me ! gracious heavens !
She knows what loving hight ;
And when she kisses,—by my faith !
I fancy she doth bite !

But more of her you shall not learn,
Though you ask the live-long day,
For she my eyes would soon scratch out
If I should more betray !'

The life of the never-staying, ever-wandering ratcatcher is well expressed in the following :

' The shoes must be cobbled, the purse be filled up,
God bless thee, thou kind roof-tree !
Farewell, dear comrades, that with me sup,
From slander keep me free.
And weep not at parting, ye maidens all,
I blow the feather over the wall,
Whether crooked or straight it flies,
There my way lies !

They stuck in my jacket a scented spray,
And filled up my glass once more ;
Then forth from the portal, I wandered away
Like a stranger sent from the door.
And back to the towers I looked from the bridge,
While all the birds whistled from hedge and from ridge :
" Ever onward, wanderer, now !
Why lingerest thou ? "

I marched o'er the heather and over the moor,
Where the wind so cold did roam ;
It sang in the rushes, and madly did roar
When I reached the forest's gloam.
The trees were all awaying and creaking and bending,
And whispering and sighing and rattling and rending,
And the brook did foam and flee :
" Follow me ! follow me ! "

Then I came to the clattering mill in its play,
And I thought : Thou'lt turn in there
And under the bench thy bundle thou'lt lay,
And greet with a silent prayer.
The mill-stone thou'lt hurl in the waters deep,
For if they bear that, thy weight they will keep ;
But the mill-wheel pursued its play :
" Turn away ! turn away ! "

I have strolled about in the wide, wide land,
And wandered now there, now here,

But all the good luck that came to my hand
 Would not fill my knapsack, I fear.
 The flowers by the way, and the stars in the sky,
 The latter so distant, the first dead and dry ;
 And alone, my heart, art thou,
 Who thinks of thee now !'

The little scene where Hunold Linguf, the ratcatcher, goes into the forest to snare birds, and holds converse with them, each after its kind, is full of innocent fun, and delight in the feathered creation. We translate the introduction :

' To the woods he went full often,
 Under every tree stood listening,
 For the wise and learned singer
 Understood the songsters' language.
 On the Basbergs leafy summit,
 By permission of the Council,
 He had made a bird-decoy ;
 Thither climbed he every morning,
 Sat and watched, and lured and whistled,
 For his friends and boon companions
 Were the little singing birds
 In the guild of Nature's singers.
 And the little merry-makers
 In the woods were also wanderers
 Who, like to himself, the outlaw,
 Careless built their tiny houses
 Where from hail and rain and snow-storm
 They could find a sheltering corner.
 By their names he knew each songster,
 By their flight and by their voices.
 When, in places which they haunted,
 He perceived a painted feather,
 Then he stooped, and placed it safely
 In his high and pointed bonnet,
 Certain from which downy pinion
 Or which plumed tail it had fallen.'

The close of the poem, which relates the revenge taken by the ratcatcher on the townspeople, whose malignant suspicions have robbed him of his true love, Gertrude, has a deeper meaning in it than Browning's poem suggests. We catch in it an echo of the feeling so deeply implanted in the Teutonic

nature: "He prayeth best who loveth best—all things both great and small":

' It was Sunday ; in the Minster's
Lofty vaults the congregation
Was assembled ; in the pulpit
Stood the Minster's noblest preacher.

And love's spirit softly floated
Through the lofty temple's transept.
But, without, in all the highways,
Passed the Evil one, and scattered
Tares and weeds among the corn ;
While, within, in sacred twilight,
With bent heads, before the Unseen
Kneeled the congregation praying.

Hunold through the streets of Hameln
Walked resplendent in the daylight,
And upon his pipe he whistled
An enchanting melody.

What, or whom, by this his music
Sought he to beguile ? Of vermin
None were left in all the city ;
Safe in church were all the burghers ;
None save children in the houses.
But the children heard ; came running
Joyous shouting, to the doorways,
Recognising from a distance
Their beloved Piper's whistling.

Great their joy when they beheld him,
Their dear friend, whose life in danger
Yesterday had moved their young hearts
Tremblingly to pray in secret.

Ah ! they knew too well that longer
He could never stay in Hameln,
And to-day, perhaps, was playing,
In farewell, their favourite ditty,
Which had never sounded sweeter.
Yes, indeed, it was entrancing !
Calling them to games and dances,
Tempting them to song and laughter.
And he nodded to them kindly,
Looking in their bright sweet faces

With such deep and tender feeling
That resistless him they followed,
Him, their gay bedizened darling,
Through the city to the gate.
.

What a picture ! First the piper,
Gaily dressed, and decorated
Rich with chains, with wondrous girdle
Hung with merry bells all tinkling.
At his heels the crowd of children,
Boys and girls and toddling babies,
Clad in rich or scanty clothing.
While the elder ones went gliding
With their feet to keep the measure ;
Timidly the smaller children
Tried to follow in their footsteps.
Many, tripping, fell, or stumbled,
Rose again, and on they followed,
Laughing at their own mischances.

And the crowd grew ever thicker,
While still sounded sweet the ditty
From the reed-pipe of the Piper.
And through all the streets and byways
Pressed the throng, and neared the gateway.
Will they pass it ? Will the children
Cross the threshold of the city ?
But their Hunold smiled and beckoned,
Singing now the while he fiddled.
.

When the song was fairly ended,
He began again to sing it ;
And the children's eyes beamed brightly,
And their cheeks were crimson roses,
And they whispered, and they listened,
As they gladly followed Hunold.

Now the Koppel rose before them,
And their little hearts beat higher,
As the mountain opened widely,
Showing them mysterious twilight,
And a path which led within it.

Hunold ever went before them,
Piped and beckoned them still onward ;
And the children followed closely.
When, of all the crowd, the latest
Vanished in the gloomy precincts,

Then the mountain closed its cavern—
Over grass and stones and brushwood
Shrill the autumn wind did whistle.

From the service in the minster
Home returned the Hameln burghers,
There to find their empty houses.
Void of rats and void of mice,
Void, too, of the darling children !'

The note of regret at missing even the familiar rustling of mouse and rat, not to be wholly suppressed in the midst of the terrible loss which had befallen the town, is very significant. The character-drawing in the little drama is most masterly ; the sweet womanliness of the wealthy burgomaster's daughter and the heroic devoted love of Gertrud, who saves the life of the lover whom she believes to be faithless, are charming traits.

To a later volume of poems, Wolff gave the name of *Linguf Rattenfänger's Lieder* (Linguf the Ratcatcher's songs), thus connecting them with this work, as if they were the compositions of its hero. In them he has managed to portray the life of a wandering minstrel of the mediæval times, in which his fancy by preference loves to dwell, and these songs may be characterised as historic lyrics, a style in which he has rarely, if ever, been surpassed.

Nature, in all its most attractive aspects, has also found a ready interpreter in Wolff. All the scenery of the Harz mountains is reflected in his next work, founded on a legend native to them. *Der wilde Jaeger, ein Waidmannsmär* (The Wild Huntsman, a woodland story), which was published in 1872, is perhaps the most perfect in form of all Wolff's works, and contains a description of the approach of Spring, which is one of the finest in German poetry.

' So sings the Storm, and hearing
All beings feel its power,
Like life-inspiring music,
Flooding the spring-tide hour ;
" And who thus strikes our buckler ?
Who wakes us in the night ?
And who will dare the battle
With the tyrants armed might ?

Is this the hour of triumph
For our long-oppressed race ?
Then thy lofty brow, oh saviour,
The verdant crown shall grace !
With courage high thou breakest
A pathway through the wood,
While we with inward forces,
In serried ranks have stood."

So thoughts of revolution,
Freedom, and hope arise ;
So comes the swaying and surging,
Under the stormy skies.
For strong bands must be broken,
And many an iron chain ;
Throughout the land rise joyful
Who in fetters long have lain.
It ferments and stirs in the woodland,
Through the branches high and low,
While to the ground the fir trees
Shake the burden of the snow.
The pines with their rustling needles,
They bend and moan in the blast,
The juniper and the yew-tree,
And the larch's boughs wide-cast.
And down the bark so rugged
It flows like living sap,
Hangs wet on every branchlet,
And where the twigs o'erlap.
While under the larches and bushes
The rime melts from the ground,
And glittering drops are shining
On the dead leaves strewn around.

And thus, in a few days' compass,
The Winter is conquered quite,
And melted and broken and vanished
Is all his princely might.
The glistening coronet slideth
From his ageing forehead down ;
His silver armour is riven,
His icy sceptre and crown.
Yes, broken is the sceptre
Which sealed all living things,
And the white and crystal mirror
Is swept from the water-springs.

Though rags of his ermine mantle
Still hang the steeps upon,
The clasp and crown of diamonds,
The veil and laces are gone.

Up springs the erst frozen fountain,
The brook foams white again,
And wave on wave leaps swiftly
From the mountain to the plain.
Brimful the streams roll threatening
Through all the trembling land,
And bear the grating ice-floes
Down to the ocean strand.

Misty it is and gloomy
In the woods and forests weird ;
And there a secret whispering,
A growing and sprouting is heard.
Through the earth are striving and piercing
The roots with their fibres long ;
In the air a boding and longing
Is heard in the birds' new song.
But stay ! oh leaves and blossoms,
List to the North-wind's blast !
For Winter returns in anger,
His season is not yet past !
To the tender buds and burgeons ,
He brings but death and woe,
He rattles with sleet and hail-stones,
And blinds with drifting snow.
Again in the Frost King's fetters
Are bound the foaming brooks,
And clothed with a snow-white mantle
The grass that scarce up-looks.
And renewed is the struggle
Again, as man to man,
With strokes of keenest falchion,
And din in the battle's van.
Spring conquers in the daytime,
And Winter in the night ;
He from defeat has risen
With undiminished might.
Again he comes low-creeping,
Lies broad upon the fields,
Before him the younger hero
Retreats and all but yields.

Then Spring renews his forces,
 And, with overpowering might,
 From his usurp'd kingdom
 Drives Winter in headlong flight
 For, before Spring's rushing battalions,
 With banner and shining spear ;
 Before the sunny army
 Winter recedes in fear.
 Battered and torn, his vassals
 Are scattered to left and right,
 And high aloft the Springtime
 Sits enthronèd in his might !'

None but a true poet could have succeeded in blending the weird and ghastly legend of the Wild Huntsman, known to us already in a slightly different form through Bürger's poem, with the gentle idyll of the loves of the huntsman, Ludolf, and the woodland maiden, Waldtraut. Side by side with a mysterious dread of the unseen, and the horror of Woden's spectre-host, only visible to eyes that are soon to close in death, we find a love and sympathy for all living creatures pervading this poem, which the writer has dedicated to the home of his childhood. It is a delicate touch, that not only the maiden who has passed all her life in the forest among them is drawn into ties of affection for flowers and birds and all denizens of the forest, so that she is moved by pity to free the trapped fox, but even the wild Count Hackelberend is softened at times by the unswerving fidelity of horse and hound. Their mute appeal almost checks his sacrilegious hand when about to draw the fatal arrow against the crucifix ; and, in the solitude of his dying hours, his revengeful hatred gives place for a moment to a gentler feeling of regret for the life that is passing, as his dog creeps nearer to him in the silence of the deserted room, and licks his hand.

' Still he lay, as if he slumbered,
 When upon his hand, all sudden,
 Felt he something warm and humid.
 It was Willi, his hand licking,
 Standing near him by the bedside.
 A broad heavy paw the staghound

Held out to the Count, who caught it,
Like the hand of trusted friend.

For the dog's sad look was touching,
Mute he gazed upon his master
With a look of grief and questioning.
"Faithful dog!" said Hackelberend,
My companion dear and trusty!
Speak then! speak! What would'st be saying?
We must part, for where I'm going
Thee I cannot with me carry;
And we three, we never more shall—
Thou, and I, and Wunsch—go hunting
Through the woods in wind and weather,
Where thou'st oft so gaily bounded,
Following the noble stag!
Now comes another sportaman,
The grim old hunter Death;
Aims so truly, never missing,
Hunts and drives me in the darkness!
Farewell, Willi! Thou hast truly
By me stood in faithful friendship
'Gainst both bear and wolf and wild-boar.
Once again shalt thou be with me,
On the last long ride of all!
But it will be slow and mournful—
Greet me Wunsch! greet Wunsch, my Willi!"
And he leant his face, caressing,
On the rough-haired staghound's head.'

While this poem has for its subject the wild paganism of the Germanic nation conquered by the strength of Christianity, and at the same time the might of the oppressed peasantry rising against the tyranny of the knightly class, so the next poem, *Tannhäuser, a Minnesang*, shows the beauty and grace of the Middle Ages. Love and chivalry, the splendour and pomp of the Crusades, tournaments and Courts of Love, Venice, Rome, and Byzantium, the strife between Guelf and Ghibelline, are here depicted with a glow of life and colour which makes them live again in our colder and more prosaic age; while the songs scattered through it show the lyric power of the writer undiminished. We give one example of these lighter verses:

'I for thee a rose have broken,
From the branch bedewed;

And in secret to it spoken,
Whispering subdued.

Deep within its calyx resteth
Sweet a timid word,
And a hundred red leaves cluster,
Lest it should be heard.

To thy sweet lips press it closely,
Imitating me ;
Thou may'st sip the dew-drops sweetly,
Scented so for thee.

With affection's tender greeting,
Thee I leave, though fain ;
Roses fade, and hearts are silent !
Hope to meet again !

'Tannhäuser' might be called a chivalrous romance, and consists of twenty-six short cantos, the varying metres of which show what an adept its author is in the reproduction of the old ballad and heroic verse of Germany. The story itself is borrowed from various legends of the Middle Ages. Following the example of Wagner in his well-known opera, the half-mythical 'Minnesänger, Heinrich von Oterdingen,' is identified with Tannhäuser, and an additional and loftier interest is bestowed on his personality by ascribing to him the authorship of the great national epos, the 'Nibelungenlied.' His life is characterised by brilliance and mystery, from his first appearance in the hermitage in the forest, through all the changing fortunes in his career as novice in a monastery, knight-errant, crusader and minstrel, captive in the Venusberg, penitent pilgrim, seeking absolution from the Pope, to his final expiation of all his errors by the composition of his great work, which was to live after his own disappearance from among his fellow-men. The keynote to this phantasmagoria lies in Tannhäuser's pursuit of the true and ideal Love, which exposes him to the deceptions and affectations of *minne*, for which he stands as a champion in the *Sänger Krieg* in the Wartburg against Wolfram von Eschenbach, who defends religion.

Among the scenes of such a varied panorama, it is difficult

to select such as best display the writer's genius and power. The wild woodland life of Heinrich's early years is charmingly sketched in a few lines of regret at having to bid it farewell :

' Where are ye now, ye reveries proud
Which promised such a kingdom bright,
And, like the fir-tree's slender spires,
Pointed the way to heavenly light ?
Were ye mere pictures, 'mid the changes
Of clouds which faintest breath can tear ?
Fading like tender buds of spring-time,
Killed by the night-frost's fatal air ?
Ah ! in your stead what must he cheriah
Who dreamed of you the live-long day ?
His visions, too, showed him a heaven,—
Another heaven—another way !—
This was not what he oft had pictured
Crowned with a starry circlet bright ;
The glory which his heart had tempted
Was not a gleam of saintly light !
Away from the sweet notes of spring-time,
From sunshine and the breath of flowers,
To be immured in gloomy cloisters,
And pass 'mid tombs the weary hours !"
Instead of striking joyous harp-strings,
And roaming blithely everywhere,
Heinrich must bear the Cross's burden
And in the church low kneel in prayer !
But every drop of blood within him
Rebelled against such dreary fate ;
If here you dam the mountain streamlet
It breaks through stone another gate.
' The way is open !—wolves can gallop
Free through the woods ! What holds me here ?
Away ! and who the stag would capture,
With skin and bones, must know no fear.—
Halt ! must I flee and flee for ever,
Hunted and driven on and on ?
I'm bound by hand-clasp and by promise—
The time to change my lot is gone !
So be it then, and not a murmur
Shall more be heard. Oh ! woodland green !
What now I hide within my bosom
In fiery flames may yet be seen !'

The same note of sylvan freedom is still more fully developed in the strolling band of players, with their leader, Spervogel :

“ Here I drink, with all the honours,
To our guild ! which, free as air,
Lives and wanders on the highway,
Has nor home nor carking care !
Nought but warm blood in its heart-veins,
Life and spirit in full flow ;
All that’s best in song and music
Be greeted, loved, and honoured now !
And so, gleemen, who can sing here ? ” —
Ha ! what tuning and what strumming
Of a hundred instruments
Sounding, clashing all together —
While the hats and caps were flying —
Hands and heads were stretched out quickly —
Fiddle-bows were gaily sweeping
Through the air, and each man shouted,
“ I can sing ! and I ! and I here !
Merry ballads, modern love-songs,
Here a wine-song, there a roundel,
Here a chorus, there a chant !
Harpers sang in our old country
Long before the knights had learnt !
Master fiddler, do but hear me ! ”
“ No, hear me ! I know the finest ! ”
“ But ’tis I that know the newest ! ” —
“ Softly, children ! ” cried the master,
“ All must come in proper order,
And then none will come too short ! ”

‘ Then began a merry singing,
Unembarrassed, never tiring ;
First the one and then the other
Was by name called by the master,
That with songs it fairly sparkled ;
But the best he sang himself.’

More serious is the sketch of the anarchy in the German Empire consequent on the strife for the Imperial Crown :

‘ Still ever-wandered, with fire encompassed
Tempest and cloud through the German land ;

And serried helmets, in fierce defiance,
 Looked o'er the shields of each hostile band.
 The armies fought in the princes' battles,
 Whom bishops denied the sacrament ;
 Hither and thither rode the swift envoys
 With many a red-sealed document.
 And past the silent vacant throne
 Strode ten sad years with their iron sway,
 And still for the sake of the emperor's crown
 The strife of the kings pursued its way.
 Hie Philip ! Hie Otto ! Hie Hohenstaufen !
 Hie Guelf ! was ever the battle-word,
 And gold and promises easily purchased
 The priestly rank, or the knightly sword.
 But Rome was steadfast ; in troubled waters
 Fishing, and playing her false, false game ;
 Banning and blessing one side and the other,
 The rule of the world was her ultimate aim.'

The most effective scene in all the poem is that in the Wartburg, and we much regret not to be able to give more than Tannhäuser's concluding song, by which Wolfram von Eschenbach is doubly conquered, yielding to Tannhäuser the crown of merit, adjudged at first to himself, and his friendship in place of rivalry.

' On bluest wavelets carried, lonely upon its way,
 A noble swan so snowy came from the South one day ;
 For it had heard a rumour of a royal eagle's might,
 And had hastened hither swiftly to conquer the eagle in its flight.

They spread aloft their pinions in the clear morning air,
 Death was the conflict's forfeit and Life its guerdon fair ;
 Circle they wheeled on circle, with wings so white and brown,
 Till from the daring essay with drooping wings the swan sank down.

But ere its eyes had closed, ere to life it said farewell,
 Its voice once more resounded—"Now hear my last death-knell !
 You may not now deny me, full soon ye hear me not !"
 So they listened to his singing as the dying swan bewailed his lot.

" Farewell, O pure, pure breezes ! O foaming rushing sea !
 Farewell, O flowery perfumes ! Now all is lost for me !
 Farewell, my gallant charger ! my harp of lovely sound !
 Thou sword, so true in battle !—So trusty none was found !

"For one alone I sorrow that I must now depart,
 For her I leave my greeting, this last song from my heart.
 To all the winds I cry it! I loved her more than all,
 She knows my heart from childhood; before her eyes I choose to fall.

"But plant upon my grave-mound only one rosetree sweet,
 Dame Minne wove my pinions, and Honour, as 'tis meet;
 And now I wait the death stroke, I ask for nothing more.
 Farewell, thou sweet existence! thou makest for me the parting sore!"

The epilogue to the whole is no less majestic and beautiful, but still more difficult to render justice to in a translation. We quote the last verse only:

'The singer's is the happiest, the richest lot, I trow;
 He gives a lofty form and shape to what his heart doth know,
 He conjures hell and heaven with his enchanter's rod,
 And with the shades he pictured he silently departs to rest in God!'

It is not surprising that a poet of Julius Wolff's especial tendency should have chosen the graceful myth of *Lurlei* as the next subject for his verse. More surprising is it in reality that none have been earlier tempted to treat it *in extenso* as he has done, since Clemens Brentano in his *Wunderhorn*, and Heine by his gem-like song, made it a traditional treasure. Wonderfully poetical and passionate and romantic is Wolff's rendering of the legend, and though in statuesque purity, and loveliness, and perhaps pathos, it falls short of Fouqués *Undine* (with the story of which it has much in common), there is greater force and local colouring in '*Lurlei*' than in our old favourite, which nothing can displace from our hearts! *Lurlei*, like *Undine*, is brought up by a fisherman and his wife, who, however, carefully conceal from the world that she is not their own child, and there is only a faint glimmering of the awakening of her human soul when her lover, the Count Lothair, is false to her even before the marriage which was to separate her forever from her mysterious kinsfolk beneath the waters of the Rhine.

Maddened by her disappointment, *Lurlei* vows the destruction of all men whom, by her beauty and wondrous siren songs, she can entice to the terrible precipice of the *Lurlei* rock, or lull

into fatal security while passing the dangerous whirlpool below. The tragic power which forces her not even to spare her foster-brother Heinrich, whose true and loyal devotion had alone, among her many lovers, touched her heart to some response, is well described. Where there is failure, it is rather in the supernatural scene of the Pix's palace under the waters. In spite of fairy-like description, there is a prosaic tinge in it when compared with the overmastering passion and force of the more human scenes.

The dreamy undulation of the waters around the boat seems to re-echo in the flow of the verse in these lines :

' On the precipice has faded
From the rocks the roseate glow—
Cool breathes the shining river
As zephyrs o'er it blow.
And every tiny ripple
Reflects the pearly shine,
So that in radiant brightness
Flows the hill-encircled Rhine.
From bank to far bank stretches
The path of the waters wide,
And over its mirrowed calmness
The lonely boat doth glide.
The slow waves swing and rock it
Softly now here, now there,
And beat and lisp and gurgle,
And at the inmates stare,
Who float on the stream, and speechless
Gaze in each other's face ;
A maiden with hair all golden,
And a youth of strength and grace.
They care not to hasten their journey,
It is enough to float ;
They have even lifted the rudder
Into the little boat,
And let it drift on slowly,
And twist and turn like a vane,
If only they stay together
Now they have met again.'

The whole character and spirit of the Rhine landscape, its smiling plenty and light-hearted gaiety, is charmingly given in a description further on :

' Through the verdant landscape passing,
 From vale to mountain clothed in vine,
 Man's short life in speed surpassing,
 Day and night flows on the Rhine.

Rolling waves on waves together
 Reach each other fellow-hands,
 Time and water, road companions,
 Linked in never broken bands.

And swiftly storms and whirls and rushes
 The current through ravines and dells,
 Still forward, ever forward striving
 In waterfalls or silent swells.

So full and lavishly it floweth,
 It never stops, nor halts, nor fails ;
 The giant's strength still greater groweth
 In passing through the fruitful vales.

Within its depths sandriffs are hiding,
 And cliffs uprear their foam-beat ledge,
 Past which a thousand barks are riding,
 From Alpine lake to ocean's edge.

They glide along past banks and shallows,
 Where sheltering trees the wind's force broke,
 Their pennants move like fluttering swallows
 To the strong oarsmen's steady stroke.

They oft must turn and twist and wander
 Through troubles, dangers, and alarms,
 Till, from among the rocks' meander,
 They reach St. Goar from Bingen's arms.

Now to the left and now to right
 They wend between the narrow banks,
 Where th' Seven Virgins clothed in light,
 And dangerous rocks stand round in ranks.'

We subjoin a little ballad, a specimen of the many which
 the book contains :

' There were two neighbours' children
 Whose secret love unnamed
 They never told each other,
 Though their hearts with passion flamed.

None spoke of the heavy burden
 That made their hearts so sad,
 Until, for love and sorrow,
 Their thoughts grew wild and mad.

He at last thought to wander
 With the pain he bore for her sake ;
 And ahe to find a shelter
 In the depths of her native lake.

The path he followed led him
 To where she stood on the strand,
 He stayed his rapid footsteps
 And took her trembling hand.

"Why standest thou here by the water,
 And gazest so forlorn ?"
 "And thou, then, whither goest thou
 So early in the dawn ?"

"Far, far away I'm going,
 For there's one who loves me not,
 And my poor heart now is breaking
 To think of my lonely lot."

"And here I will seek my cradle,
 Because one says me nay ;
 I cannot live without him
 E'en for a single day."

"Tell me, who is the caiff
 Who dares to show thee scorn ?"
 "First tell me who's the coy one
 Who drives thee forth forlorn ?"

"She stands with pallid features
 By the deep water's brim."
 "And he, with gloomy aspect,
 Will cross that mountain dim."

Their loving looks encounter—
 No death for lorn love's sake !
 He went not o'er the mountain,
 Nor she into the lake !

Besides the works we have been considering, so eminently poetical in form and character, Wolff has proved himself a successful writer in other branches of imaginative literature. His dramatic attempts have not perhaps added to his fame, but his prose romances would alone have gained him distinction, even if he had not already been renowned when the first of them was published in 1881. *Der Sulfmeister, eine alte Stadtgeschichte*, preserves all the best qualities necessary to the historical novel. Truthful local colouring, careful study of the past,

with a skilfully interwoven plot by which the interest is never suffered to flag, are combined with humour, grace and pathos in the characters and situations, while the heaviness too often inseparable from similar productions is never once perceived. The rich burgher-life of Mediæval Germany (the scene is Lüneburg and the time 1454) has seldom been more attractively rendered than in these pages, and while we are spared long paragraphs of description and weighty digression, we still feel transported back through the intervening centuries, and recognise the charm of a simpler age than ours, when the guilds of the various trades had laws and rights of their own, and industry, commerce, and modern politics were yet in their cradles. The skill with which our author has succeeded in reproducing the language and style of the times without falling into the defect of strangeness and forced expressions, is worthy of the greatest praise. We quote a description in the opening chapter as a proof that the poet has by no means taken leave of poetry, though his thoughts are no longer expressed in rhyme and measure:

‘The young apprentice, who called the heath his home, looked delightedly around, while his heart beat joyfully. For what he saw here had been familiar and dear to him from his childhood. He knew the heath when it was all covered with red blossoms where the bees hummed, while the larks sang above; he knew it in foggy, grey November, when it lay gloomy and misty, sad and dreary, like a wide uncultivated field; or when the rain beat on it, and the wind howled over it; and he knew it, too, in its dazzling white robe of winter snow, when the last tree on the horizon showed clear and sharp for miles through the transparent frosty air. This plain, on which nothing was to be seen but sky and heath melting one into the other in the silvery immeasurable distance, and the peculiar beauty and quiet charm of which seemed unmarked by his indifferent companion, had imprinted itself in all its silent grandeur so deeply in the heart of the one who had been born here, that he would never forget it. Even when he gazed at the reflection of the magnificent banks in the broad current of the Rhine, he involuntarily thought of the little pools of water in the black peaty soil of the Lüneburger Heath, hardly large enough to mirror a little cloud, or a few glittering stars. And now he saw it again, this brown heath, and his foot trod the uneven ground and the numberless little hillocks with the ragged tufts of grass, and he was on his way back to his dear ones, who did not as yet expect him, and to embrace whom was now his most fervent wish.

No wonder that he strode along so quickly, and inhaled so eagerly the fragrant earthy smell which rose from his native heath after the spring showers. And still more rose from the ground before him. A thousand memories were rooted for him here among the heather, thickly sown with the happy days of his childhood, when he rambled through the country with his companions, guiding the drivers, or visiting the bee-masters who travelled over the heath with their hives, letting the busy swarms feed now here, now there, on the abundant flowers. And then, like a shadowy picture in the air, the old many-towered town rose before his mind, and in it the high-gabled house of his father, with each room, from top to bottom, where he saw himself, a child with children, running and jumping, or crouching together in some mysterious corner beneath the staircase, planning secrets, whispering and laughing—a golden, shining, fairy time!

And there!—far before him some living beings appeared—they came nearer, he could see them plainly, dearly loved forms come to meet him. He knew them well, his tall serious father, and his mother, his dear mother, his brothers and the fair-haired sister—oh! he could have rushed to meet them with outstretched arms and a cry of joy had he been alone, alone on the endless heath!

They were the household spirits who welcomed the wanderer; the wonderful power of returning home from the strange world, which took such possession of him that his heart was quite full of it here upon the heath!

‘The heath stood in full flower. In all its endless extent it lay stretched in shining beauty, and the colours played and changed in the wonderful light. The tender pink of each separate tiny blossom in the miles of bush on bush and flower on flower, blended into one equal mass of gay rose colour, which grew darker the farther it receded, and gradually became a purple line. Then, half imperceptibly, a bluish shade passed over the shining sea, penetrating it more and more till it softly melted into a deep violet that became darker and darker till it was lost, at length, in the farthest distance, in perfect blackness.

They who were doomed to part could still see each other. Sometimes Hildegund leant one hand on the horse’s crupper and looked back at the beloved wanderer, whose figure grew smaller and smaller as he strode through the blooming landscape. But the wider the dividing space became, and the darker the back ground, the more difficult was it for her to discern Gilbrecht’s retreating form, paler and paler in the distance. More than once she lost sight of him; then she reined in her horse, and sought to penetrate the distance. He reappeared once more, not yet taken from her, but drawn back again into a visible existence by her longing gaze. But was that slowly-moving figure, hardly to be distinguished as moving, that uncertain wandering point, really her handsome young bridegroom, her fair-haired Gilbrecht? Oh, yes, she saw him striding along with firm step,

his knapsack on his shoulders, and stick in hand, with the hat, all wreathed with green, on his curly head. In her heart she saw him thus, though no longer with her eyes. He had vanished entirely in the sunny distance of the endless flowery heath.'

Between these two descriptions lies the tale, less passionate and poetical than those in metrical form, but penetrated by the manly vigour and honest sterling virtue of Gilbrecht's father, the Sülzmeister, Gotthard Henneberg, the true hero of the book. The hardy burgher-patriot in strife with the encroaching power of Rome and foes within his native walls, the true and loyal champion, who, for love of law and order spares not even his own son, is represented in Henneberg. The changeful fortunes of three pairs of lovers—and we might count four, for there are no less—are interwoven with the stirring events of the story. The humorous element is abundantly supplied by the scenes with 'Daniel in the lion's den'; the soubriquet given by the wits of the town to the abode of a very hen-pecked shoemaker, to whom one of the two apprentices introduced in the opening scene is bound. 'Timmo's' unscrupulous audacity and transcendent impudence, by which he works his way, first to the domination of the shrewish Gesche, his master's wife, and finally through hairbreadth escapes to a position of importance in the town, fairly win our laughing sympathy, and as far as we know, he is a perfectly original creation of our author, and a character most felicitously imagined and depicted. We give one scene, when, having discovered his master's secret intention of getting himself elected as Town-councillor, he endeavours to increase his own importance in Gesche's eyes, by a revelation intended to lead her completely wrong. We must, however, premise that the especial humour of these scenes can hardly be done justice to in a single example, which is moreover abbreviated for lack of space.

'Gesche, who believed that she knew every corner of her husband's heart, and ruled him entirely, was enraged because, in this case, she could make nothing out of him, and she finally concluded that his secret must be very dangerous, and possibly concern herself nearly. Timmo pretended to know nothing, and Gesche revenged herself for his and Daniel's

obstinate silence by attempting starvation—that is to say, she gave them something to eat, but neither plentifully nor of the best. Timmo soon grew tired of this, and determined to reconcile his mistress by a mendacious confession, and, at the same time, revenge himself for the bad treatment he had been experiencing.

‘So, during one of Daniel’s absences, when Gesche once more commenced an attack on his silence, Timmo pretended to be sitting on thorns, and then, rocking himself backwards and forwards on his stool, he rubbed his shins with both hands, scratched first his elbows, and then his head, and cast a despairing look at his mistress, and an anxious one at Hans.

‘Gesche noticed these manoeuvres, and, guessing them to be the struggling preparations for a complete confession, called to Hans :

“Hans, prythee run to Mistress Lina Langepepe, in Wall Dyers’ Street” (which lay at the opposite end of the town), “greet her with my love, and ask how it fares to-day with her and her infant.”

‘Hans looked at his mistress as much as to say, “Oh, how he will take you in !” and disappeared.

“There !” exclaimed Gesche, approaching her chair to the very edge of the window-dais, “now the coast is clear. Speak !”

“Mistress,” began Timmo, again scratching his head, “it is a very ticklish thing. I scarce know whether I ought to tell you, or how.”

“Nonsense. Go on !” said Gesche encouragingly.

“Well, mistress, if you would but swear to me——”

“Yes, yes, yes !” cried Gesche, “anything ! But go on !”

“Well, then, this is it—that is, I think not that they will manage it. I really cannot believe that they will carry it through against you, against their wives. But the Legate has verily promised——” and with this Timmo sighed, and gazed compassionately at his mistress.

“Who ? What ? How carry it through ? What has the Legate promised ?” shouted Gesche.

“Well, mistress, ’tis not so easy to tell you such a thing to your face !” said Timmo. “But the masters of the guilds, I know not whether all, but certainly some of them, have given their word to the Legate that they will vote against the Council, if he will get from the Pope permission for them—mistress—be not vexed ; I cannot help it.”

‘Gesche stamped her feet.

“For them——?”

“To take a second wife—a younger one. Oh, mistress ! calm yourself. Calm yourself, mistress !”

‘But his mistress was quite calm as yet. She needed time to understand. Then she began to tremble, her face twitched violently, and she played and drummed with her fingers in her lap before she spoke a word. Suddenly she burst out into a shrill laugh ; then, hoarsely and spasmodically, as if breath failed her, she uttered the words :

“So that is why—he refused to tell me ! This, indeed, concerns me

nearly ! He wants another wife ? A young one ! Well, let her come, let her only come !” and she raised her clenched fists.

“Oh, mistress ! calm yourself !” begged Timmo, “It cannot be settled so soon !”

‘There must have been a low tone of suppressed laughter in Timmo’s words, for Gesche suddenly cast a vicious look at him, and then, distorting her wide mouth, she ground her teeth, and hissed,

“Listen, fellow ! It will go hard with you if——”

“Mistress,” said Timmo, with offended pride, “I can but say what I heard, and if Master Daniel has already chosen another wife, pretty and young, of which I am not assured——”

“I would not advise him to do it !” exclaimed Gesche, and her voice sounded like the grating of a wheel on granite.

‘Just then the door opened, and Daniel’s voice was heard outside.

“Step in, dear Mistress Florentina, step in,” it said, “my wife is probably within.”

“Oh, yes, she is,” came from the window ; “thy wife sits here ! Beg the dear young mistress to come in.”

“Oh, I thought thou wert out, dear wife,” said Daniel, hesitatingly, as he led Florentina into the room.

“No, dear husband, I am here as you see,” replied Gesche, with a voice that sounded like the sharpening of a knife, and she sat with angry eyes, like a cat ready to spring.

‘Florentina bid the mistress good day, and received in return a curtsy, behind which lurked half-a-dozen notes of interrogation.

‘When they had left the room again Gesche could no longer contain herself, she sprang up panting—

“So that was she, his future second wife, whom he means to bring into my house ! I defy him to do it !”

“Mistress, I pray you be quiet,” begged Timmo.

“Nonsense !” she cried. “I must have it out, else I shall choke !”

‘When Daniel returned, she planted herself before him, and began in a menacing tone—

“I know all. Thy whole secret !”

“Indeed ? thou knowest it ?” asked Daniel, quite astonished. “From Timmo ?”

“Yes, from Timmo.”

“Mistress,” remonstrated Timmo.

“Be silent,” cried Gesche.

“Well,” asked Daniel, quite pleased, “and what dost thou say to it ?”

“What do I say to it ?”

“Yes ! Art thou not glad ?”

‘Gesche was dumbfounded.

“Courage, Gesche. Thou wilt see ! But make a friendly face. It is an honour for thee also.”

"An honour for me! Hear him, ye saints above!"

"But it pleases me not that Timmo told thee!"

"Really not?"

"No, I wished to surprise thee."

"Daniel," cried Gesche, lifting her hand, "if thou wouldst ride the wooden ass in the market-place, say so; thou canst have the necessary beating at once!"

"But, Gesche," remonstrated Daniel, "how canst thou say that to me? a future councillor—"

"A future — what?"

"Councillor! yes, yes, a future councillor."

"All ye saints, aid me! He is getting more and more mad!" cried Gesche, wringing her hands.

"I thought Timmo had told thee that I was to be made councillor, that is my whole secret," explained Daniel.

"Now the house will fall," thought Timmo, and rushed out of the room like the wind.

The husband and wife make it up and later Timmo again appears on the scene.

Timmo did not return that afternoon. But towards nightfall he presented himself at the time he knew Daniel would be out.

"Good evening, mistress," he began, with perfect ease, as if nothing had happened.

Gesche did not reply, pretending not to see him.

"Mistress, do you know where I came from?" Timmo went on after a pause.

"I care not," cried Gesche, savagely. "For my part, you may return whence you came."

"But I have avenged you, mistress! I have given those who told me about the master and his second wife a good beating. It was shameful to lie so, was it not mistress?"

"Shameful, yes!" said Gesche, and not a word more would she utter.

That evening all was very quiet in the lion's den; and the night fell, the last night before the day which was to decide the fate of the town and of its noble council.

In his next prose romance, *Der Raubgraf* (The Robber Count), we find again more of the passion of Wolff's poetry. The scene is laid in the vicinity of his native town of Friedlinburg, and the historical framework of the story is taken from its annals. The wild marauding life of the nobles in the Middle Ages, their incessant feuds with one another and with the pretensions of the clergy, as here delineated, have not entirely stifled a gentler ideal of life and character even in the

Robber Count himself. His most attractive personality, with all its manly courage and capacity for love and self-sacrifice, explains the irresistible affection with which he inspires women of such very different natures as the two heroines, and leads to the sad complication of his own fate. We give an extract from the interview between him and the haughty Countess Jutta, canoness of a secular sisterhood, of which he was the legal defender and protector in those troubled times. That such a position should foster the growth of a tenderer feeling between two kindred natures (Jutta is bound by no vow of celibacy) was but natural, and for a time Count Albrecht looks forward to leading the beautiful high-born lady to his own rock-girt fortress of Regenstein as its mistress. While yet wavering in uncertainty of his own heart, chance throws him into frequent companionship with Oda von Falkenstein, an essentially feminine nature, who speedily captivates him more entirely. How he manfully endeavours to repress the first dawn of this feeling, and sacrifice his own to what he believes to be her and his brother's happiness, furnishes the principal plot of the story, which we will not further divulge. Count Albrecht is keeping Oda a prisoner in his castle, and thereby excites the jealousy of the Abbess Jutta, who extorts from him the avowal that he hopes to make Oda the wife of his brother Siegfried. In her relief at hearing this:

"Ah!" she exclaimed, and the sigh came from the very bottom of her heart, while a happy smile passed across her lips. But she tried to command her feelings; to conceal as far as possible the reason of her former anxiety and present joyous relief. He must have noticed that nothing but jealousy had inspired her with such keen mockery. But the Count, she thought, was too generous to show that he had remarked it. Or had he nothing new to learn? That was not impossible; she had not always been quite master of her feelings in his presence, and they had perhaps been too often betrayed by her rash lips and the expression of her eyes. But if he knew what she was unable to hide, why did he make no use of his knowledge? Could the love of such a woman as herself neither flatter nor make him happy? And yet, in her proud beauty, she felt worthy of the splendid hero, and they were a pair which might fitly be compared to Siegfried the Dragon-killer and Brunhild von Isenland.

'At least, after what had just passed, she would preserve the appearance of feminine reserve, that she might not have to confess openly that she

had gone too far and forgotten herself. So she summoned up all her strength of mind, and said :

“ Pardon me, Count Albrecht ! Had I known your wish and hope for a union between the Countess Oda and your brother, I should at once have understood your acts and approved of them. But the Countess was to be confided to my care as a member of the sisterhood, and it was therefore my duty as abbess to expect and further her arrival here. The case is now different, and we must agree on what is to be done.”

“ If you, like me, had brothers, Domina, or if you knew my brother Siegfried,— ” began the Count.

“ Oh, I know him well ! ” interrupted the Abbess, as she reseated herself and invited her visitor to do the same.

“ You have seen him occasionally, but you do not know him as I do, who wish that such happiness and joy may fall to his fair head and brave heart as—as I have never been able to attain, and perhaps never can. You know well that during the last years of my dear father’s life, the cares of the family lay on my shoulders ; he sent me now hither, now thither, to consultations and treaties ; my careless youth was cut short, for my head was so full of serious things that my heart could never assert, and still less gain, its rights. And now that I am master in the land, all the care and anxiety of holding what we have lies upon me, the eldest of the six Regensteiners. When have I ever rest or peace ? I am driven from one feud to another ; I must wake and watch like a sentinel on a tower, with enemies and dangers all around ; I must be always armed, always on my guard, always in the saddle, thinking and acting for all, now interfering by word, and now by my sword, and never able to rest or dream. And yet I would not have it otherwise, for I love this life ! I will be a knight and cavalier, helping others when I can, and where I set my foot there I will stand ! Now can you understand that I would risk any enmity in order to make my brother happy ? ”

‘ Jutta never turned her eyes away from his face, drinking in every word he said, and a peaceful happy feeling came over her. So that was the key to his silence, his hesitation !—he had no time to love ! It seemed to her that he said all this to comfort her, as if silently to beg her to be patient with him. And she would be patient ; she would never again vex him by her longing and violence, but sweeten and reward the burden and unrest of his hard life by her redoubled consideration and friendliness. She would faithfully cling to him with quiet patient love, until better days allowed him to think of his own happiness.

‘ When Count Albrecht had ended, Jutta remained silent a while, responding to his last question only by a bend of her head, but now she looked at him thankfully, for had he not at last revealed to her a part of his inner thought ? Then she inquired, with sincere sympathy, whether there were any prospect that his hopes would soon be realized.

‘ Count Albrecht shrugged his shoulders. “ It is that which makes me

anxious," he replied. "The young Countess is so tender, shy and timid, that, while she wins all hearts, she keeps within due-limits all who would approach her too rashly."

"Timidity, modesty that won all hearts? Did he purposely say that to her, the bold and passionate woman?"

"Is the Countess really so exceptionally beautiful as Florentius says?" she asked, with a lip that already began to curl.

"I should scarcely call her really beautiful, the pale lily," the Count answered, smiling; "but over her whole being is spread such a sweet loveliness, such an inimitable grace, like morning dew and flower-bloom, and her every movement, her voice, and the frank earnest expression of her blue eyes are so charming, that one is compelled to quiet worship."

Jutta listened to this description with growing displeasure. The evil spirit which had before raged within her and had scarcely been laid to rest, again beat palpably at her heart. Only he thus depicts a girl who!—oh, he has no time to love!

"But are you convinced, Count Albrecht," she asked, "that they love one another?"

"There can be no doubt of the true love of my brother," he replied, "and he never wearies of mutely confessing and proving it by knightly service in all chastity and honour. But as yet I have seen no sign of her love for him."

"Then she loves another?"

The question escaped Jutta's lips in violent haste, and she looked sharply at the Count.

"I do not know, Domina," said Albrecht, "and I hope not," he added gravely.

"She is your prisoner, Count Albrecht," said the Abbess, "will you force her to be your brother's wife even if—even should you notice that she loves another?"

"How can you ask such a question, Domina?" exclaimed the Count, "force the dear sweet maiden against her will, against the pure inclination of her heart! Never! But reflect; true love lies hidden like gold in the mine, and grows slowly like an oak, when it is worthy of enduring for life."

"How know you that?" asked Jutta in surprise.

Albrecht was silent. He was struck by the question, and almost afraid of his own words.

"Count Albrecht! give me the Countess! She is as safe with me as with you."

Jutta again said this in such a hurried and masterful tone, and looked at him with such a peculiar, half-anxious, half-menacing glance, that the Count felt doubtful of her intention.

He slowly shook his head and said, decidedly and thoughtfully,

"No, gracious lady!"

"I will keep and cherish her as your brother's betrothed bride," said

Jutta. "I will favour her above all others, and fulfil her every wish. Come here with your brother as often as you will. You shall be welcome on any day and at any hour, and Siegfried shall see Oda without witnesses. They shall speak to each other as confidentially and freely as we do now, and no listener shall hear what passes from mouth to mouth, from heart to heart."

"The Count shook his head.

"In this way Count Hoyer's wish would be fulfilled, and you could treat with him in all peace and friendship, if your brother wooed her here," persisted Jutta. "Thus the Bishop would be deprived of all pretext for interfering; and all that I can do, Count Albrecht, so that Oda's lands may fall to your noble house as her dowry shall be done. I will give my princely word to the Count and the Bishop, and even strive for this before the Emperor at the Imperial Diet."

Jutta's cheeks were flushed by her zeal, her breath was hurried, and in her voice trembled an increased excitement.

"I thank you, Domina," replied the Count, "but your trouble would be in vain. The quarrel must be fought out with sword and lance, and in that way I hope the sooner to reach my goal."

Jutta looked at him with displeasure and evidently repressed an outburst of anger. She bit her lip and impatiently sought for words.

"Reflect on one thing, Count," she said, once more falling into a tone of bitterness. "Is it fitting that the maiden should remain alone among you men at Regenstein? Here with us women is the proper place for a modest, well-born, and deserted gentlewoman. What can you say against this?"

"She has her waiting-woman with her," replied Albrecht.

"Her waiting-woman? Indeed! What a mighty protection for her honour!" mocked Jutta. "And that contents the noble lady? With that her tenderness and touching modesty is satisfied? Well, that is really touching! But I should have thought that a Countess of Falkenstein would have had more reserve and good feeling than to prefer to remain in a lonely castle among unmarried knights, protected by soldiers and vassals, against I know not what—against robbery and attack, or undesired disturbance!"

"Who tells you, Domina!" thundered Albrecht, rising from his seat, "that she *prefers* to remain in the lonely castle, which draws upon itself, on her account, both enemies and quarrels?"

"She does not prefer!" cried Jutta, rising also. "Ah!—so you keep her by force, Count, not only out of compassion? only out of love to your brother, so that he may win the rich bride? Oh, how I envy that brother his ready helper and purveyor! Do not roll your eyes. You have but little to reply. My reasons are exhausted, and you have none, at least none that will hold good. Therefore I say to you, give me the Countess! Let your brother, for whose sake alone you keep Oda so safe and fast, sue

for her favour *here* ; and if you will not, then permit me to think what I like !”

‘Count Albrecht clenched his teeth ; a vivid flush rose to his face .

“For my part think what you like,” he said, roughly, “and I shall do what I like ; if that does not please you, Domina, I cannot help it. You shall not have the Countess Oda ! And so, fare you well till you are in a better humour !”

‘He left the room with ringing steps, mounted his horse in the castle-yard, and rode off to Gersdorf.’

It is worthy of remark how persistently the anti-clerical tendencies of the author reveal themselves in all his works. The situation of the hero’s most strenuous efforts to save the heroine from life in a cloister occurs in each of his three romances.

Very different from *Der Raubgraf*, where the course of true love never did run smooth, is Wolff’s last work (1887) *Das Recht der Hagestolze* (The Bachelor’s Law, the story of a marriage in the Necker valley), where all is touched in lighter colours, and with a gayer spirit.

Whether intentionally or not on the author’s part, this work might almost be regarded as a pendant to the preceding one, with comedy in the place of tragedy. The scene is still laid in the Middle Ages, but the romantic and pathetic elements are in abeyance, and the plot, though slight, is lively and full of interest, and might be adapted for the stage with excellent dramatic effect. There is abundance of picturesque description and good character-drawing. Especially the figure of the hero, Hans Landshaden, in his honest manliness, and blundering simplicity, is inimitable. The subject of the story is furnished by the endeavours to elude the law by which, in the Middle Ages, the estates of an unmarried man, dying after the age of 52, reverted to the feudal sovereign instead of remaining in the family of the possessor. Such a danger, unsuspected by himself, threatens Hans, a confirmed bachelor with a horror of matrimony and especially of mothers-in-law, and the friendly intrigues of his brothers, aided of course by their respective wives, to secure his wedded bliss, the warding off of rivals, and the successful manoeuvres of a lively niece and a jovial Abbot, maintain the humour and interest of the story unabated

to the last page. The weakest touch in the whole picture is, to our thinking, the disguised Jewish maiden, Josephine, whose unrequited passion for Ernst, Hans's nephew, the second hero of the book, leads her to complicate the plot further by her treacherous endeavours to cross the boy-and-girl love-story of Ernst and Richilde, which is closely interwoven with that of the principal hero and heroine. If the introduction of such a character was necessary for the development of the plot, we should have preferred her to be more interesting in herself so as to enlist more of our sympathy in her loveless fate. As it is, she serves as a foil to the group of high-born ladies in the Minneburg, all destined in the end for sunshine and happiness in the good old fashion, 'so they married and lived happily all their days.' As a specimen of the general tone of the book, we give a scene of Hans' courtship of the lady of his love by the cession of a deed of mortgage which had long been a bone of contention between the families.

Sidonia, his niece, has accompanied Hans on his way to his lady-love, and tries to get out of her uncle the real object of his visit, at which she only guesses.

"Uncle Hans," began Sidonia, "were you not formerly on very friendly terms with Juliana?"

"Certainly," replied Hans, "why do you ask?"

"Oh, I should be so glad if the old kind feeling could be restored!"

"That entirely depends upon Juliana," he said, "and to-day will show whether she be inclined to a reconciliation."

"Indeed, to-day?—Have you any hope?"

"Who can tell, Sidonia! You know her well; she allows no one to see into her heart."

"At least but seldom. Sometimes I manage it. She trusts me very much. So you, too, wish to be good friends again?"

"Decidedly!" he quietly answered. "What I can do to that end, shall be done; but if this," and he put his hand on the pocket which held the mortgage, "cannot do it, it will be a difficult affair."

'Sidonia waited to see whether her uncle would betray what kind of talisman it was that should rekindle the extinguished flames of friendship; but as he said nothing more, she was too cautious to ask. After a little time she began again.

"Juliana lives as lonely a life in her castle, Uncle Hans, as you in yours. I could not bear such solitude long."

"What has one horses in the stable for?" he retorted, laughingly.

"That is all very well, if parting did not come after meeting; the separation from one another!"

"That only heightens the pleasure of a visit, and fans one's longing."

"So you do sometimes long for her?" asked Sidonia with a smile.

"For whom?" he inquired, startled.

"Whom are we speaking of? I thought of Juliana?"

"I was not thinking of her when I talked of parting and meeting again," he replied, with some embarrassment, "I was thinking—for example, of your father, and other good friends."

"Aha!" exclaimed Sidonia, "but are you not glad to think of seeing Juliana again to-day?"

"If only she will not treat me to the same sauce as last time!" he replied, sighing.

"Oh, you are sure to be welcome with what you have in your pocket," suggested Sidonia.

"You mean the mortgage?" he said, without thinking, "Yes, I hope so too."

When the two had ridden for some time in solemn silence, Sidonia asked,

"How will you give her the deed, Uncle Hans?"

"I was just considering," he answered, "for you must know, Sidonia, that we mean to give her the wood back without demanding a penny in return; the whole debt is cancelled."

"Ah, that is good!" cried Sidonia. Naturally, she thought the two thousand gulden was Uncle Bigger's wedding-present. "But," she added aloud, "you must be very careful; you must let it out gradually, else the right effect will be missed."

"Do you think so? Well, how should it be done?" he inquired.

"I will tell you what, Uncle Hans. No one can see us here in the wood; let us rehearse the scene. I represent Juliana; you bring me the important news, and, from question and answer, we shall see how the matter will turn out, so that afterwards you may be prepared for everything."

"A capital proposal, Sidonia!" cried Hans, "we will do so."

They rode deeper into the wood under the trees. Hans dismounted, lifted Sidonia like a child from her saddle, and then tied the horses to a young birch tree.

"There!" she said, "this mossy stone shall be Juliana's chair; in it I sit as mistress of the Minneburg, and graciously listen to your message."

She sat down, and imitated, as well as she could, the bearing and expression of the lady whose part she was to play, while Hans stood opposite, reflecting on his introduction.

"Now, don't stand there like a penitent," cried Sidonia, laughingly.

"You bring me something. Speak!"

Hans cleared his throat, bowed profoundly, and began.

"Noble Lady! we have considered your reply, brought to us yesterday by the beautiful and amiable Sidonia——"

"Stop! Stop!" she interrupted, "no woman likes to hear a man call another beautiful and amiable, however much it may be true. So begin again, and leave that out."

"Noble Lady," Hans repeated, "we have duly considered the reply brought to us by Sidonia in your name, and to my great regret, I must tell you that we three brothers have decided to refuse what you propose altogether."

"Very good, very good," said Sidonia in an undertone. And then, imitating to the life Juliana's voice and manner, she said, sharply and haughtily, "I regret it too, Junker Hans, and am only amazed that you undertook the disagreeable errand, and were bold enough to bring yourself such unpleasant news. I must say, Sir, that I should have been better pleased if you had left it to Sidonia to divulge."

"By my faith!" exclaimed Hans, "that is strong!"

"Yes, you must expect that," replied Sidonia.

"Dear me, what shall I answer?" he inquired, with a deep sigh.

"You must only smile. Smile, Uncle Hans! Still more; more scornfully! Hold your head up!—so! Now you must say, 'Will you patiently hear me, noble lady?'"

"Will you patiently hear me, noble lady?" repeated Hans.

"What can you have to say that is worth the trouble of listening to?" said Sidonia, in Juliana's most contemptuous tone.

"Oh, noble lady," answered Hans, "did you know what I have in my pocket——"

"No, no! not yet," interrupted Sidonia, "you must let her wait a little!"

"Well then; so, oh noble lady, Sidonia has told us that, at the bottom of your heart, you care more for our friendship, than ——"

"Stop! for Heaven's sake! not a word about that!" cried Sidonia. "That would be a fine stumbling-block!"

"Then what shall I say?" asked Hans, discouraged.

"Wait a little!—Say that you had another proposal to make which perhaps might meet with her approbation."

"Then once again! Oh noble lady, it may be that I have another proposal to make—for which we might hope—to be so happy—as to rejoice—in your acceptance of it."

"Pretty well. But it must go more smoothly," said Sidonia, and added, in a different voice, "I will accept no proposals that change the single condition which I have made."

"But suppose we are content with much less than what you have offered?"

"I will not bargain with you for money!"

"But if we renounce the right of chase?"

"Very good! very good, Uncle Hans!" exclaimed Sidonia. "Now take care! Juliana will grow attentive and rather kinder—'You will renounce the right of chase? Really? are you in earnest, Junker Hans?'"

"Certainly, noble lady. Not one of us shall in future enter the wood without your permission."

"Excellent! Now she will look at you with *such* eyes—see, so!"

"Ah!" said Hans, "that is nice!"

"Oh Junker Hans, continued Sidonia, "I will gladly give you permission at any time. And—what did you say about the mortgage?"

"Money must not be spoken of between us, noble lady."

"How so, Junker Hans?—Now you must take the mortgage out of your pocket," prompted Sidonia.

Hans did so, and handing it to her said, "Here Mistress Juliana, I give you back your wood without—without —"

"Without demanding anything but your friendship," prompted Sidonia.

"But your friendship, Mistress Juliana," repeated Hans, relieved.

"Junker Hans! Hans! my Hans! how I thank you!" cried Sidonia, who sprang up, threw her arms round the amazed knight and kissed him heartily on the mouth.

Then she burst into a peal of laughter. "Do you see, it will happen so, it will happen so!" she exclaimed with joy. "And what will you do now? You will hold her fast, quite fast, will you not?"

"Yes, yes; you see I do so."

"Well, now you can let *me* go," she said, still laughing and escaping from his arms.

"Not bad," said Hans, with a chuckle; "that pleases me; if only the trial succeeds."

"It cannot miss," Sidonia replied, "if you will only do everything right."

"Do you know, Sidonia," Hans observed, "we might, for safety's sake, repeat the last part, from where I take the mortgage out of my pocket; I believe it did not go smoothly enough."

"Oh yes, it did, Uncle Hans! For the first time it went *very* smoothly," she answered. "You will certainly not forget what you have to do. Now, come! In less than an hour we shall be at the place where you must show what you have learned."

He took her up in his arms again, to lift her into her saddle. "Another kiss, girl, as payment," he begged, carrying her on a little. She made no fuss, but offered him her fresh and rosy lips. Then he placed her on her horse, mounted himself, and they merrily rode on their way.

In due time Hans reaches the Minneburg, and is introduced into the chamber of Mistress Juliana.

Hans remained standing on the threshold in all his splendour, like a vision. He did not wish to interrupt Sidonia's greeting, as she flew to Juliana, and cried, "Here we are, Mistress Juliana. Forgive that I did not return yesterday. But to-day we galloped till the sparks flew."

Juliana could not reply, so excited was she, but she remarked the rose in Sidonia's bosom, and looked quietly into the maiden's face. Then she approached Hans, and said, offering him her hand, "You are welcome, Junker Hans."

‘He bent forward with such delight beaming in his face ; he pressed her hand so warmly, that a stream of hope flooded her heart. Before he had spoken a word, they were seated, gazing at each other. Sidonia had rapidly whispered a word to Hiltrud and Richilde. “Come ! a message from Ernst ;” and, like startled elves, they all three slipped through the door. Hans and Juliana were alone.

“I see by your countenance, Junker Hans,” began Juliana, “that you bring me peace.”

‘Hans was confused. That was not in the part ; he ought to begin, not she.

“Will you hear me patiently, noble lady,” he said, in order to get into the right track. “To my regret, I must tell you——”

‘It was now Juliana’s turn to be startled by this unpromising beginning ; but in the speaker’s eyes there was such a merry and roguish sparkle, that she interrupted him with a laugh.

“Ah, Junker Hans ! save yourself the trouble of trying to mislead me ! You certainly do not look like one who has to communicate ill news. There, in your pocket, upon which you lay your broad knightly hand so protectingly, is hidden the mortgage. You may as well produce it, for you cannot deny it.”

‘Hans was speechless, and made anything but a wise face at this unexpected attack, for he felt quite dizzy, and, as if it had been stung by a wasp, his hand involuntarily started away from the pocket. Where was now all the delightful prelude and surprise, which, according to the plan prepared, was to be heightened word by word, till it culminated in a brilliant conclusion ? That was all over. He was not in the least prepared for what was now to come, and he had neither the courage nor presence of mind to meet Juliana’s remarkable hit by a clever counterstroke, nor to tease her with artificial hindrances and difficulties until he could triumph over her.

“Mistress Juliana,” he said, “I am completely taken by surprise at your wonderful perspicuity. You have guessed right. Here in my pocket is the mortgage, and I am truly glad that you did not for a moment think that I could come here again, without bringing you the fulfilment of your desire.”

‘And, taking the document from his pocket, he offered it to her with these words, “Here, noble lady ! take your wood back from us.”

‘With an earnest glance, and most blissful confusion, which rejuvenated and embellished her countenance, Juliana took the deed, and offered her hand to her friend, saying briefly but heartily, “I thank you, Junker Hans !”

‘He looked at her with beaming eyes, while his heart beat high in expectation of what would follow. But, as nothing happened, the smile gradually faded from his lips. She did not fall on his neck, as Sidonia had supposed to be the only right thing to do at such a solemn moment.

Instead of that she rose, drew a key from her dress, and said, "Let us settle everything at once, so that the matter may be finally concluded and forgotten."

"She had laid the document on the table, and now went to a coffer and unlocked it.

"What do you mean, Mistress Juliana?" asked Hans.

"She smiled embarrassed, and answered, "Well, I thought you might be so good as to take it with you—it has been set aside all ready—the two hundred gulden——"

Hans jumped up.

"You have mistaken me! The money is not to be mentioned!"

"She looked at him astonished, as if she did not yet understand.

"What did you say?"

"The wood is yours, and will remain yours, but not a penny will we take from you in return," he answered decidedly.

"She turned very pale, and stood staring before her without replying.

"Now take care!" thought Hans. "All will yet be well. Then, hold fast, quite fast, as Sidonia said!"

"But cold and hard came the words from Juliana's lips:

"I will accept no gift from you."

Hans grew hot. The vein on his forehead swelled. He hastily caught up the mortgage, and, holding it before him in both hands, cried, with a flushed face and loud voice—

"Mistress Juliana! I will tear this document into a thousand pieces and throw it at your feet if you say another word about paying or giving. I came here in the joy of my heart, to do what I have long wished, yield the wood to you; and my arm, my sword, and my blood are at your service at any moment; but cursed be the penny that passes from your hand into mine! There," he thundered, casting the document on the table, "there lies the scribble! Send the money if you can do no other, but you will never then see a Landshad again under your roof!"

He trembled all over, and stood like an angry lion, shaking his tawny mane, with eyes sparkling with anger.

Juliana had never seen him thus. While he was raging, she gazed at him, as if trying to penetrate to the very bottom of his soul. Then she said,

"Junker Hans, a short time ago there was a Jew here who prophesied that a long cherished wish of mine would presently be fulfilled. The prophecy has come true. You return me the wood and——"

"And you will accept it as frankly as I offer it?" he asked with joyful emotion, stretching out both his hands.

"Yes," she answered firmly.

They held each others' hands fast, and looked deep into each others' eyes. On his and on her lips hovered a word, perhaps a cry, which was pressing up from their hearts, but—their lips remained dumb. If one of them had but uttered a sound, they would have sunk into each others'

arms. Each expected something from the other which did not come, and the decisive moment passed without the fateful sign.

Their hands slowly unclasped. Juliana turned away with a suppressed sigh, and closed the coffer. She felt as if her heart closed also.

"Farewell!" Hans murmured, and went to the door. She bent her head, but never moved.

At the door he turned, and once more looked at her with a sad and hopeless glance, and, as if parting for ever, the strangled words were again uttered—

"Farewell, Juliana!"

But she could refrain no longer. She almost ran to him, seized his hand, and cried, "Stay!—I must speak to you!"

She led him to the bay-window, pointed to one of the benches, and seated herself on the other opposite. As they sat so, looking at each other, the most anxious expectation was expressed on Hans' features, while Juliana, highly excited, could scarcely frame words with which to utter that of which she desired to rid her mind.

"Hans Landshad," she began at last, "do you still remember what happened here three years ago, between two persons who, as it then seemed, loved each other?"

"I still remember it, Juliana," he replied, much struck by this introduction; "two persons embraced, who, at that moment, had forgotten what they owed to a third."

"Yes, it was so," she said. "But they remembered in time, and parted. You rushed away, and when I recovered my senses, I was grateful to you for doing so. But now I ask you—why did you never come again?"

"I did not wish to be a traitor to that third person."

"You shame me by your reply," she said, blushing. "But why did you not come when you could no longer be a traitor to that third person?"

"Because I thought that you hated me, like all of us."

"You I never hated!" she answered with emotion, and with an earnest look.

"Juliana!" he exclaimed, starting up.

"No, no, remain seated," she cried, stretching out her hand as if to ward him off. "I have still a third question. Why do you come again now? Why do you return the mortgage without payment? Why do you seek peace and friendship from one whom you did not miss for these long years?"

"If I must be frank," he replied, with reluctance, "I came at the instigation of my brother Bliigger."

"By your brother's instigation!" she repeated, with bitter disappointment. "Then not of your own accord? I thank you for your sincerity, Junker Hans!"

He was greatly embarrassed, and perceived what an awkward and almost insulting answer he had given.

"I only wanted to say," he stammered, "that the proposal about the mortgage came from Bigger; but I came gladly; not, that is, the first time, for I was afraid of you; but to-day I came joyfully, thinking I should please you about the mortgage. See! I put on my best bridle and my best doublet on my horse—no, no, the contrary!"

"Your best bridle! how good you are!" she cried, with a smile. "But if you had not said so," she added, "I would not have believed that your brother Bigger cared for making peace with me, or has he some particular reason for giving up his enmity against me? Tell me that, too."

"I know of none," replied Hans. "You mistake Bigger. He has no enmity against you, and sincerely wishes, as we all do, to live on friendly terms with you."

Juliana reflected a few seconds, examining Hans closely, whether he spoke the truth. Then she said—

"Good! I will come and offer the hand of reconciliation to the ladies, your sisters-in-law Caterina and Agnes."

"You will be highly welcome!" he replied. "But, Juliana—how shall it be with us in future? Is peace and friendship re-established also between us two?"

"Peace? Friendship?" she repeated slowly. "Were we ever at war? Were you my enemy?"

"Never, never, Juliana!" he exclaimed. "But when I came here lately, for the first time after long absence, it seemed to me that we had become much—very much estranged."

"Was that my fault?"

"No! no! I confess it. I deserved what you let me feel. But now—will you forgive me, Juliana? Will you once more grant me your grace and favour?" he asked, rising; and with a beseeching look, he offered her his hand.

"With all my heart!" she replied, in a full warm tone, and gave him her hand, which he held fast.

"You make me happy, Juliana! very happy!" he whispered.

They walked slowly, hand in hand, through the large chamber, but not towards the door, for he led her towards a window. She guessed his intention, stopped half way, and looked at him with a merry roguish expression. She met an ardent fiery gaze which seemed to comprehend her whole person; and she saw how his broad chest rose and fell. How handsome, how heroic, he seemed to her at this moment! She glowed and trembled before the strong man, and involuntarily she stepped back. But he held her hand in both his own, and pressed it first to his heart and then to his lip, with such vehemence that he almost hurt her.

"May I come again, Juliana?" he murmured.

"As often as you like," she whispered, looking at him with beaming eyes.

"Thanks! thanks! farewell! To meet again!"

“‘To meet again soon, dear friend!’”

‘But while they said farewell, they still clasped each other’s outstretched hands, as if those hands could no more part than the beaming glances with which they looked into each others’ eyes. Then Hans tore himself loose and hurried away almost as quickly as he had done three years ago.’

The unravelling of the plot, the manner in which Hans’ real dislike to a wedded life is at last overcome, we leave to the readers of the book to find out.

And so we take our leave of our charming German author, hoping that he may yet enrich the literature of his Fatherland with many poetical legends and romances, such as it has been our pleasant task to bring to the notice of English readers. The lines with which he concludes his noble ‘*Tannhäuser*,’ and which we have cited on another page, naturally recur to our minds in thinking of his literary achievements, and we trust and believe that these have by no means exhausted his powers, and look forward with confidence to other and perhaps even greater works to come.

EDITH MARGET.

ART. VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Drittes Heft.) 1889.—Professor Hermann Schmidt, of Breslau, has the first place here with a careful study as to the ‘*Bildung und Gehalt des messianischen Bewusstseins Jesu*.’ The questions he raises and discusses under this title are as to when Jesus became conscious of His Messianic character and mission, and what His conception of that character and mission was—what His idea was of Himself, and what idea He had formed of the nature of the ‘kingdom’ He was to establish. Dr. Schmidt admits that the data furnished by the Gospels regarding Christ’s early years and spiritual development are too meagre to set the former point above controversy. The only words of Jesus Himself we have are those addressed to His mother in the Temple, when He was twelve years old, and they are not sufficiently precise to enable us to determine whether or not He then saw clearly before Him the character of His life’s work. They make it clear that He

was conscious of a peculiar relation existing between Himself and God, but they are inadequate to define for us what that consciousness in the mind of Jesus involved. Weiss maintains that they indicate at least a dawning conception of His great mission; while Beyschlag dates this from His baptism. Dr. Schmidt examines the arguments of both writers, and endeavours to educe from the Gospels their testimony as to both questions raised by his paper.—Dr. Julius Köstlin follows with an article on the relations of Church and State in the United States of America, and the light these relations there furnish to help to readjust those in Germany.—Dr. Breidenkamp's 'Zur Urgeschichte' comes next. He examines the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and seeks to bring out the evidences these afford as to the date of their composition, and the date of their being wrought up into their present form.—Dr. Gess examines and criticises Professor Häring's views as to the Atonement; and Herr Pfarrer Walther gives an account of the Low-German 'Psalter' printed at Lübeck in 1474.—The books reviewed are A. Köstlin's *Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes*, and H. Hering's *Helfsbuch zur einföhrung in das liturgische Studium*.

DEUTSCHE RUNDschau (January, February, March).—Each of the three monthly parts opens with instalments of Herr Ossip Schublin's serial 'Boris Lensky.' This is followed, in the first number, by a most interesting series of letters between Theodor Storm and Eduard Mörike. They are sixteen in number and range between 1850 and 1865. The correspondence opens with a letter in which Storm requests Mörike to accept a copy of the 'Sommergeschichten und Lieder,' which he had just published, and, availing himself of the opportunity, gives expression to his admiration for the poet. For various reasons which the letter itself explains, Mörike's answer was not written till nearly three years later; but the friendliness of its tone compensated for the long delay. It closes with a request for some information as to the young writer's 'exterior existence,' with a view to the settlement of a question which had been debated amongst Mörike's friends, of whom some thought that Storm must be a pastor, whilst others judged him to be a doctor. In reply, Storm, who, by the way, was a lawyer, writes an exceedingly interesting autobiographical letter, and from this time a fairly regular correspondence goes on for a couple of years. In '56 there is but one letter, and another in '59, both from Storm to Mörike. The interesting fragment of correspondence and of literary history closes in June 1865 with Mörike's feeling answer to a letter in which Storm had informed him of the death of his wife.—The

next item is the conclusion of the essay which Herr Gustav Cohn devotes to a sketch of the life of Lord Shaftesbury, and which, as we have already indicated, is founded on well known English works.—As the signature of Herr Hermann Grimm which is appended to it shows, the next contribution appeals chiefly to students of art. The title promises nothing more than an account of Rudolf Stang's engraving of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper.' But, Professor Grimm is too great an admirer of the Italian master to allow the opportunity to escape him, and what he in reality gives the reader is a history of the master-piece which Morghen's reproduction has made so familiar. But, though probably but few of those who know the 'Last Supper' from engravings only are aware of the fact, the fresco itself has long been practically destroyed, and the work of copying it from the fragments still visible on the wall of the bare, damp, miserable room which, after having been used as a refectory by the monks of Santa Maria, was turned into a stable by the French, is not much less difficult than that of reproducing an antediluvian monster from a rib, a tooth and a toe. In consequence of this, even Morghen's masterly engraving did not give complete satisfaction with regard to all the details. This led Rudolf Stang to attempt the arduous task of sketching what has really ceased to exist. The changes which he has introduced and the reason for them are duly set forth, but, it must suffice to state that the result is such as to lead so competent a critic as Professor Grimm to express the opinion that the original has now been reproduced as nearly as it is possible to be.—A paper on 'Common Fallacies;' a review of the second volume of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha's reminiscences, and a short sketch of the working of the Prussian Admiralty complete the first number.—In the next part, Herr Heinrich Brugsch contributes a very valuable dissertation on the gold, silver, and copper currency of the ancients. It is full of interesting information, of which, however, the practical utility, to the English reader at least, is necessarily diminished by the author's use of the German decimal system.—In an article which he entitles 'Der Kampf ums Mittelmeer,' Major Otto Wachs sets forth the importance of Biserta in the struggle which he considers inevitable between France and Italy, and he more than hints his belief that the important question as to which of them shall command the Mediterranean is not likely to be settled without the intervention of German arms.—Professor Hermann Grimm again appears in this number, but this time it is, so to speak, only with a personal matter he has to deal. Some months back he wrote a paper in which he advocated a wider and more thorough study of the

German language in the Gymnasiums. In reply, a Berlin teacher pointed out that the vernacular was ill-suited for the purpose of teaching accuracy of thought and expression, and adduced some two and twenty passages from the Professor's own paper in proof of the 'ungebundenheit,' or, not to put too fine a point upon it, the slovenliness of even the best German writers. As might be expected, Herr Grimm has not allowed the matter to pass without a word of protest. But he is not content with merely defending himself. He returns to the attack, and goes the length of asserting that Latin is not only inferior to German in educational value, but is practically useless to all but professional philologists.—In the March number, Herr Philip Spitta devotes a lengthy paper to the first opera of Faust. It is not, however, that composed by Spohr in 1813, but one of which the librettist was Heinrich Schmieder. The interesting part is that this Schmieder had the coolness to appropriate, for what he calls his 'original' opera, whole passages from Goethe's early Faust fragment, and that the plagiarism does not appear to have been detected.—An unsigned article entitled 'Das russische Interregnum vom Jahre, 1825,' throws light on an obscure period of Russian history.—In a short but thoughtful and suggestive paper—'Realismus oder Pessimismus'—Herr Hausrath protests against the notion that realism need in any way exclude beauty from art.—In addition to this, there is an article entitled 'Die Entwicklung der modernen Pilzforschung,' another of which the late Crown-Prince Rudolph is the subject, and a review of Lady Blennerhassett's biography of Madame de Staël.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—With a fourth instalment Baron von Roberts brings his powerful and dramatic novel, 'Die schöne Helena,' to a close.—This is followed by a short essay in which Herr Thomas Achelis gives an 'analysis of the essential ideas' of Herr von Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unknown.' Apart from its value as a philosophical study, the article will be acceptable to many because of the few biographical details which it contains. Of these it will be sufficient to mention one or two. Eduard von Hartmann was born in Berlin on the 23rd of February, 1842. His father was an artillery officer, and he himself early chose the same career. Before long, however, an incurable disease of the knee having unfitted him for the duties of his profession, he was obliged to retire. This was in 1864. He then devoted himself to painting and to music, but abandoned them both after having satisfied himself that, in spite of his decided taste in that direction, he could not hope to produce anything markedly original in either art. He next gave himself up to philosophical

study, of which the first results were published in the form of short essays. Shortly after, however, he produced the work which has won for him a high place among the thinkers of our time. It may be added that a very striking portrait of Hartmann accompanies Herr Achelis's essay.—Two descriptive articles are devoted respectively to Aquileia and to the environs of Saint Petersburg. The former of them is but a few pages long; the later not only takes up a goodly space in the first number, but is also continued in the second. It is profusely illustrated.—In this part we may further mention a short paper in which Herr Franz von Löher indicates the sources from which the history of civilization in the early part of the Middle Ages is to be drawn; and another in which Freiherr von Mansberg traces the rise and decline of embroidery during the same epoch.—In the February part biography is well represented by an article in which Herr Ludwig Pietsch sketches the career of the painter Franz Defregger, some of whose Tyrolese pictures are almost as familiar in this country as in his own. Two excellent double-page engravings accompany the paper.—A most amusing and not uninteresting contribution is that in which Herr Hennicke shows the influence of telegraphy on language. In the first place he indicates the new words and expressions with which it has enriched the language of all countries, and in this connection he points out how differently the process has been carried out in German, English, and French. From its nature German has lent itself most easily to the formation of compounds, and is able to use one word where English requires two or three, as for example, 'Doppelnadeltelegraph,' of which the equivalent is 'double needle instrument.' It might, however, have been fair to add that, though there are three English to one German word, in this particular case, there is only the difference of one letter. French being analytical and not synthetical, is necessarily long-winded in its expressions and is obliged to say, for instance, 'perte du courant à la terre,' where German has merely to use 'Erdschluss.' This facility which the Germans possess of heaping words together in one huge compound is not altogether to the advantage of the language, and Herr Hennicke gives an amusing list of monstrosities which the telegraph has called forth. One specimen will suffice, 'Horizontalriemenbetriebsvakuationspumpe.' The author also brings together some interesting examples of the devices used for compressing telegrams into as few words as possible, and the following sample of a polyglot message is curious enough to be quoted: 'Emperor's daughter Ausfahrt enthusiastic cheers, false Paul Mecklenburg Catholic, further false France Russia threatened Pforte Kriegs-

fall if English convention ratified, if not, dann zunächst alles beim alten, Germany remains abwartend; Lapaix shows Leerheit all German Anklagen about Liga; dicitur Autriche fera invitations.' The mistakes which the substitution of one letter for another occasionally produces are, of course, not forgotten, and not the least ludicrous of those quoted is that which, a few years ago, made the *Times* announce that Lady Kennedy had presented her husband with twins. It happened, however, that Sir Arthur was a bachelor, and the whole mistake had arisen from the transmission of 'Governor Queensland twins first son,' instead of 'Governor Queensland turns first sod.'—An article which will also be read with great interest is that which Herr Scholz devotes to the Russian writer Dostojewski. Although his works are becoming known amongst us, the details of his career are not familiar, and yet, they are as striking as any of his novels, which indeed, are to a large extent autobiographical. His 'Reminiscences of the House of the Dead' are, in fact, nothing but the record of his wretched existence as a State prisoner in Siberia, where he remained five years.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March.)—The first number opens with a contribution, in which Herr Paul Cauer examines the question of educational reform. The writer declares himself entirely opposed to the scheme which has for its object to establish a uniform curriculum in all secondary schools. One of his objections to it is that by necessarily curtailing the time to be devoted to Latin, in order to find room for more science and for modern languages, it practically renders a classical training impossible. According to his own view, the only way out of the difficulty is to put the gymnasiums, the real gymnasia, and the oberrealschulen on an equal footing, and to have it open to each to make his own choice.—In the next paper Herr Adolf Michaelis considers the aims and objects of the German archæological institute, a subject of somewhat limited interest.—The lengthy article which Professor Reusch entitles 'Eine Crisis in Jesuitenorden,' is based on Dr. Döllinger's work, 'Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche.' Its object is to give a sketch of the controversy which arose between Gonzalez, the General of the Order, and the majority of the members of the Society on points of morality. The author takes occasion to introduce a sketch of the constitution of the Jesuits, as well as of those principles to which, as he says, the name of 'Jesuit morality' is usually given.—The last contribution to the January number is an exposition of the new system of county government in England.—To the February part, Professor Karl Müller contributes a theological article, which he entitles

'Die Symbole des Lutherthums.'—This is followed by a very philosophical essay on Homer and Hellenism.—Herr August Schmarsow contributes an interesting sketch of the life and works of Andrea Pisano.—Another even more purely biographical contribution is that which Herr Adolf Harnack devotes to August Neander. This eminent German historian was born, exactly a hundred years ago, of Jewish parents. While pursuing his studies at the Johanneum College in Hamburg he became a convert to the Christian faith, and assumed the name by which he is known. He subsequently studied at the universities of Halle, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. His great attainments led to his being appointed professor of theology at the last of these. In 1812 he was chosen to fill the chair of theology at the University of Berlin, where he remained until his death. In the same year he published 'The Emperor Julian and his Times,' which established his fame as an ecclesiastical historian. His greatest work, entitled 'Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church,' was given to the world between the years 1825 and 1845, and was comprised in five volumes. In 1835 he produced a reply to Strauss's 'Life of Jesus,' in a work entitled 'The Life of Jesus in its Historical Relations.' Neander died in 1850.—In the last of the three numbers for the quarter, the place of honour is occupied by an article, of which the subject is the old chronicler, Jean Froissart. It is both biographical and literary.—Dr. Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz, who places the recently published novel by Geoffrey Drage, 'Cyril,' by the side of 'Sybil' and 'Coningsby,' has drawn from it 'a programme of English political reform,' which he here sets forth in a long paper.—We have at various times had occasion to direct the attention of our readers to articles, in German reviews, on a subject which has excited considerable interest of late years, the purification of the German language. Numerous societies have been formed for the purpose of promoting what many look upon as the patriotic reform, and excluding foreign, which, of course, means chiefly French words from the language. Some have actually gone so far as to invoke state interference in the matter. The present number of the *Jahrbücher* publishes a protest against any such measure. It bears the signatures of, amongst others, Ernst Curtius, Gustav Freytag, Julius Rodenberg, Paul Heyse, Hans Delbrück, Heinrich von Treitschke, Ernst Hæckel, Rudolf Virchow, and Erich Schmidt.

ITALY.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Jan. 1.—Making large use of Signor G. Canale's book on *Tripoli and Genoa in the Middle*

Ages, Signor de Castra gives an interesting account of the 'Colonization of Tripoli by the Genoese.'—The letters from the Orient continued in this number speak, of Jerusalem.—G. Mercalli gives a full account of the recent eruptions in the island of Vulcano, the southernmost of the Lipari Isles, which is about six miles long by two or three wide. Its southern portion is fertile and cultivated, but the northern portion is barren and sandy, and dominated by a vast crater, called the Fossa di Vulcano, which, from time immemorial, has smoked and thundered. The whole island consists indeed of an ancient volcanic crater. The hills are formed of old lava, scoria, pumice-stone and ashes, encircled to the west, south and east, by the present active crater, just as Monte Somma encircles Vesuvius. A squallid valley, which may be compared to the well-known Atrio del Cavallo of Vesuvius, divides the Fossa di Vulcano from the hills, which gently slope to the south towards Cape Bandiera. Here, on that part of the island most distant from the crater, live about 250 souls, scattered in small rural cottages, and occupied in the cultivation of the land. From the time of the Romans sulphur and alum have been taken from the north-east part of the island, and in our century was also found a small quantity of boric. In the desert part of the island only one house, the property of an English company, and inhabited by Mr. Narlian, the director, is found. This gentleman has lately confined his attention to sulphur, as the alum and boric acid did not pay. He also cultivated much of the land around, doing his best to render the soil more fertile, but the recent eruptions have buried half his groves, covered his vineyards with a black coat of cinders and ashes, and considerably damaged the house and factories. When the eruption broke out, Mr. Narlian and his workmen and field-labourers, to the number of 30, fled the spot. On the south of the island no damage was done, and all accounts of the flight of the inhabitants are imaginary. The story of the eruption which commenced on the 2nd of August last and, with a short pause, continued up to last month, is the usual one of intermittent violent outbreaks and more moderate activity; with subterranean thunder and local earthquakes, masses of incandescent material were cast out of the crater to great distances. One mass weighing more than 15 tons was cast to about a mile's distance and buried itself several yards deep in the earth. The explosions were heard forty miles off, and the column of steam and smoke, mixed with ashes, rose in a dark-grey or nearly black cloud to a height of two miles, sometimes emitting flashes of lightning. At night the cloud, illuminated by the mass of boiling lava in the crater, looked like one mass of fire, and from it fell a real rain of fiery stones.

The writer of the article was surprised, while in a narrow ravine on the sides of the crater, by a strong eruption preceded by explosive sounds. He was examining several *fumaroli* or smoke holes, and they suddenly emitted, with a shrill whistling sound, more vapour than usual, while the ground beneath his feet shook. In a few seconds he heard a noise as if masses of rock were being clashed together on the summit of the crater. He and his Liparese companion crouched close to the side of the ravine to escape the stones, which they could hear rolling down the mountain near them, and some of which actually flew over their heads, falling at the base of the crater. Taking up one of the biggest blocks they found it still hot enough to melt a zinc wire, therefore more than 423 degrees centigrade. No liquid lava issued from the craters during the eruptions; some probably found its way to a weak point under water, for once a boatman was nearly wrecked by a sudden agitation of the sea a mile to the east of the island, while pumice stones rose to the surface of the waters. The agitation only extended for about 300 yards, and at the same time there was a strong eruption of the waters with much lightning. The crater of Vulcano was believed, in the Middle Ages, to be one of the mouths of hell, and some 6th century chroniclers gravely state that Theodoric's soul was precipitated therein. From the 15th to the 17th century the recorded eruptions on the island were pretty frequent and strong. During the 18th century the numerous and violent eruptions seem to have exhausted the force of the volcano sufficiently to enable it to remain comparatively quiet for about 25 years, when the island, which had been deserted, was again inhabited. But in 1873 the volcano awoke once more and has since continued active. After July 1887, it was silent for a year, the vent being probably blocked up by some large fragment, which caused the gases to accumulate and led to the violent eruptions of last year, which may be considered as the *continuation* of the eruptive period commenced in 1873. It is probable that the volcano will soon return to relative calm, and there is another fact that will reassure the islanders, which is, that in the history of the eruptions, none has been known to be accompanied by disastrous earthquakes either there or on the neighbouring isles. It really seems that Vulcano and Stromboli are true safety-valves, at least for the regions close to them, and the fact that the islands rise very little above the surface of the sea is also favourable.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Feb. 1.—G. Cassani discusses the subject of mutual aid societies in relation to the law of 1886, both in this and in the following number.—R. Corniani continues

his notes of travel in Spain.—The papers on the Soudan and the Mahdi are continued, and in this number give an account of General Gordon in the Soudan, describing the debates in the English Parliament, and the discussion in the papers about the abandonment of the Soudan, and the events that occurred after Gordon's arrival in Khartoum. The writer, Signor Grabrinski, blames Ismail's refusal to agree to Gordon's proposals, describes the General's character, and attributes the responsibility of the catastrophe to the unwise and inexplicable policy of the English Government.—F. Gallo commences a series of realistic scenes of military life, taking for his first group of figures 'Merry Types,' exhibiting them by various anecdotes.—'Letters from the Orient,' and the Venetian Campaign, are continued.—Signor P. della Spina contributes an 'Open Letter' on the Catholic question, addressed to Signor Rendu.—E. Salvadori describes the *Diatessaron* of Tatian discovered among the Vatican parchments, and recently published by P. Crasa.—(Feb. 16).—G. P. Assirelli continues his articles on the Lotto in Italy, and rejoices in the fact that the Operative Societies and Postal Savings bank have, in 1886, saved a sum of 184,559,785 francs from the maw of the Lotto, that being the amount of deposits in the Societies and the Savings bank. He notices the influence which superstition has in increasing the passion for the Lotto, and its baneful effect on the population.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1st.)—Here is an article by the poet G. Carducci, written in his usual finished style, entitled 'A Jacobin in formation,' and telling the story of Count Giovanni Fantoni, who amongst other things, published in 1782 some odes dated 'On board the Formidable, by permission of Admiral Rodney,' and dedicated to Catherine of Russia. He published another collection of prose and poetry in 1785, dedicating it to Lord Cowper who was a member of *La Crusca* and lived in Florence.—Professor Zumbini writes a full but brief article on foreign and Italian sepulchral poetry, and the 'Carme' of Foscolo, drawing comparisons between the treatment of such a subject by English, French, German and Italian poets. N. Marselli contributes a most interesting article on punishments and prizes in the army, claiming for the Italian army great progress in a rational system of discipline. He insists on the necessity of using punishments that are not degrading, nor so irritating as to make a soldier who suffers them either an idiot or a savage. He advocates great encouragement of *amour propre* in the officers. After entering at length into the subject in all its branches, the writer concludes by wishing for his country no servile imitation of foreign systems, but a more lively faith in the

forces which regulate and move the world, because the future belongs to those nations which, without being wanting in the necessary number of men, know how to value quality more than quantity.—M. Ferrars discusses telegraphic reform.—E. Pessina writes a brief monograph on Mancini.—F. Cardon gives an account of Stanley in search of Emin Pasha, expressing the admiration of him entertained by the Italians who see in him the man destined to relieve not only Enim, but also their own countryman, Casati.—(Jan. 16th).—Continuing his papers on Florentine history, Professor Villari narrates the facts relating to the progress made by Henry VII. in Italy, pointing out how Dante urged him not to be discouraged but to continue the enterprise, in language which admirably represents the ideas of that period, and proves Dante's exaltation of spirit. He was the first who clearly expressed the new Ghibelline conception which had struck profound roots in the century when a new dawn was rising on mankind.—G. Barzelotti publishes the first part of a review of pessimistic philosophy in Germany, describing its diffusion during 1860 to 1880, and points out the causes of its rapid spread. When in 1848-49, he says, the attempts to gain liberty were frustrated, men of letters and science, artists and students, made Schopenhauer their favorite philosopher, and his philosophy reached the height of popularity in 1870 to 1880, contrasting discordantly with the joy of the whole nation at the late victories.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Feb. 1st).—Professor Zumbini concludes his two papers on the 'Carme' Foscolo, calling it the most beautiful hymn ever chosen to grace the eternal religion of the tomb, and which will live as long as that religion endures.—G. Setti continues his excursion into Magna Grecia, and Professor Villari his discourse on secondary education.—E. Nencione writes a most interesting article on Paul Bourget, describing his new works, in which he finds chapters of admirable delicacy of observation, and exquisite elegance of style.—Professor Emery writes a pleasant article on defensive alliances among plants and ants.—(Feb. 16).—The number opens with a discourse addressed to, and read in the presence of, Queen Margaret, by Professor Carducci, on 'Poetry and Italy during the Fourth Crusade.' He relates the preachings of the Fourth Crusade in France and in Italy at the end of the twelfth century and its commencement in the following year, gives a picture of the assembling of the fleet at Venice, of the assault on Constantinople, of the progress of the Crusade, and points out the potentiality of the poetry which lies in actual events.—J. Moleschott writes on 'Sceptics and Believers

in the Scientific world,' proving that it is doubt which produces discovery and conquest, and that instead of crossing one's arms in despair and asking of what use is all the mass of facts and syllogisms, we must recognise that what we know is infinitely small in comparison with what remains to be known, and, comprehending that the human species is one link in the evolution of the world, be well-furnished against any fear or discouragement, because we know that the universe is an indivisible unity in which the microcosm calling itself man is the mirror of the macro.—As his second type of woman, Professor De Gubernatis takes Countess Helen Potoska, founding his account on Lucien Perry's book, *Historie d'une grande dame au XVII^e siècle; La Comtesse Hélène Potoska*.—The review of foreign literature occupies itself with Spanish works. The biographical bulletin notices Mr. J. E. H. Rogers' book, 'The Economic Interpretation of History,' giving an account of its scope, and praising its clever research into facts, but affirms that when it enters into the field of theory it is full of errors both evident and serious, so that its severe and sometimes bitter criticism of the classic economists are deprived of all value.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st).—G. Finali writes an article on the third and fourth volumes of 'Baron Recasolés' Letters and Documents,' including the period from April 1850 to March 1860.—E. Masi concludes his paper on 'Giovannie de Gamerra and the Sentimental Drama,' which is written with the desire of recalling a name that has been forgotten in literary Italian history.—In the form of a letter to Signor Boselli, R. Bonghi describes secondary instruction in England as a preface to a further description and discussion of Eton College.—E. Mancini contributes a brief ethnographic paper on 'Marks' apropos of the time of carnival.—V. discusses Italian foreign policy on the basis of the last Green Book on Massowa and the Suez Canal.—A. Valdarmini writes on the essential factors of civilization and social science.—L. Morandi concludes his article on 'Pasquino and the pasquinades,' and D. Carazzi writes on 'The devourers of microbes.'—(March 16th).—A d'Ancona writes on the 'Popular songs of Piemonte,' quoting many of the poems contained in the book of the above name, by Costantino Nigra.—F. d'Arcais, writing on the late Paul Ferraris, the Italian dramatist, says that his celebrity commenced with his comedy of 'Goldoni,' first represented at Florence, and that his 'Medicina di una ragazza malata' (A Sick Girl's Medicine) was an almost perfect work. Ferraris was esteemed in private life for his virtues no less than for the public services he rendered to the Italian theatre.—G. Barzelotti continues his papers on Philosophic pessimism in

Germany. — L. Cesotti writes on 'Arms in Europe,' giving minute statistics of the different European armies, and advocating certain reforms. — Neera's novellette 'To-morrow' is continued. — A. Brunialto, in an article on the 'Highways of Commerce,' says that he believes the day will come when we shall be able to enter a comfortable carriage in Paris or Vienna, and alight in Calcutta or Peking, and it is almost impossible to imagine what great transformations in commercial traffic will then ensue. But scarcely our grand-children will see that day and until then, various changes will take place in tariffs, naval constructions and motive powers. Some of the new highways now damage Italy, but she can always make use of them, and seek new outlets. People must have faith in the future. — G. Chiarini writes on the new book, 'Letters from Ugo Foscolo to Lucietta,' the publication of which he regrets as it does no honour to the poet. — O. Marucchi contributes a critical article on the second volume of *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, by G. P. de Rossi, the archæologist.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (March 16th). — 'Our beautiful Fatherland, from Giramonte to Otranto, with a glance at all Italy' is an enthusiastic and eloquent article, touching upon the historical facts and scenes which can heighten the idea of love for the country. — C. Toudini de Guarenghi writes on Montenegro, describing the changes that country has gone through and depreciating any project of depriving the Slav population of their independence. — C. Cascano writes on the Bologna University, and the honours dispensed on occasion of the centenary. — 'From Italy to Constantinople,' by G. Grabinski, is concluded, and the novelette 'After a Refusal' continued. — E. Poggi's subject is the third centenary of the elevation of Loreto into a commune. — The review of foreign literature is devoted to French books.

REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (March 15th) contains: 'The problem of the province in experimental political science,' by E. Coppi, in which the author says, that one last objection can be raised against provincial government, that there is a doubt whether it will not reawaken federal aspirations and menace national unity, but that such fear is vain, for the province, as contemplated by Minghetti, has nothing to do with federation, being no political body, but only a chief organ of circumscribed administration. The province, claimed by experimental political science as an organic necessity, is not the *canton* of Switzerland, nor the *state* of the American, Australian, or Mexican union, nor the *province* of the Argentine Republic; it is not, in short, a federal state, but merely an administrative organism. In France, where the movement in its favour is

increasing in acuteness, it is not the reconstitution of the old states, but the *province nouvelle* which is desired; and in England it will not be long before the province will be constituted under the form of 'union of counties.'—'Taxes and free competition,' by X.

LA CULTURA. (January 1-15, Feb. 1-15).—Contains many able reviews of Italian books, and short notices, among which is one by an American writer, 'Topics of Ancient History,' by Clara W. Wood, mentioned as a curious kind of work. 'Brava gente' (Good Folk), by A. Caccianiga, is described as a most pleasant work, which gives the author's impressions of many remarkable persons, such as Azeglio, Doudan, Flaubert, Georges Sand, etc., with a most humorous chapter entitled 'In the Country,' and a touching episode of the war in Rome. Among the announcements is one of two forthcoming books by Paul Mantegazza, *The Second Tartuffe* and *The Physiology of Hate*. In a new work, *Architecture in Italy from the 6th to the 11th Century*, (the reviewer says), the author, Raffaello Cattaneo, has accomplished the difficult task of weaving the artistic history of five centuries, searching into the darkness of barbarism, upsetting a cloud of prejudices, pointing out a number of old errors, and resolving many hard problems. He has succeeded in enlivening the review of those far-away centuries with a large number of works of art grouped according to style, and in ascertaining the obscure origin of such edifices as predominated in Italy after the year 1000 A.D., and in pointing out the age of many. The volume is enriched by about 200 engravings, almost all after the author's original drawings.—A. Loria notices a work by a young political economist, Signor Groziani, (who has written a *Critical History of the Theory of Value in Italy*), calling it a promise of original research in this field by a new and powerful champion.—B. mentions Signor Lanceani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of recent Discoveries*, (Macmillan & Co), as well worthy of translation into Italian, though written for foreigners. In it there are some things, however, which might be disputed.—A translation of Longfellow's 'Evangeline' by Arnaldo Bruschetti, is much praised, and more translations from the same poet wished for.

With the opening of the year three new Magazines made their appearance.

VITA NUOVA (No. I, January, 1889) contains Edgar Poe's 'Raven,' by E. Nencione.—Poetical Biography, by G. Setti.—A ballad 'The Eternal Nymphs,' by A. Tomaselli.—'For the critical edition of the *Commedia*,' by G. Mazzini.—'The Angelina,' by P. Sperani.

LETTERE E ARTI (No. I., January, 1889) contains an Ode by Carducci. — 'Algernon Swinburne,' by E. Nencione. — 'Shuffling,' by Altobelli. — 'The Queen's Sin,' by Panzecchi. — 'The Couriers of Art'; 'Shakespeare's Juliet and Italy,' by Franchetti. — 'The Youth of Francesco De Sanctis,' by Masi.

L'ARCADIA (No. I., January, 1889) contains 'On the Nativity of our Lord,' by L. M. Parocchi. — 'Italian Literature,' by A. Capececiatro. — 'Comments on the Divine Comedy,' by A. Bartolini. — 'Vincenzo Monte's version of the Iliad,' by A. Monaci. — 'The Civilization of the Fifth Century,' by J. Carmi. — 'The First Inhabitants of the Earth,' by V. Prinzivalli. — 'Animal Heat,' by A. Murino, and 'The story of Arcadia,' by G. Biroccini.

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE, of Florence, which has a staff of able writers, contains in its numbers the following articles (January 1st). — 'A Memoir of Prince Carignano,' by A. Gotti. — 'The Parliament now Sitting,' by C. di Levi. — 'Equal Justice for All,' in relation to the law which exempts Deputies from arrest, by G. B. Benvenuto. — (January 15th) 'Italian Political Authors,' by D. Zainchelli. — 'The Moderating Power in the Brazilian and Portuguese Constitutions,' by G. B. Ugo. — 'Useful Reform in Charitable Institutions,' by V. — (February 1st.) 'The Condition of Italian Finance,' by A. J. De Johannis. — 'Precedence among the Diplomats of the Sixteenth Century,' by V. A. Fattara. — 'Popular Instruction,' by A. Marescotti. — (February 15th.) *First Lines of a Critical Programme of Sociology* by J. Vanni, is reviewed by A. A. Vacaro. — 'James Montgomery Stuart,' by V. Anseidei. Mr. Stuart early took up his abode in Italy, was loved and esteemed by all Italians, and died last January at Perugia. — (March 1st.) 'Officials as Deputies,' by D. Zainchelli. — 'The Italian National Debt during the Last Ten Years,' by A. J. De Johannis. — 'The Principle of Nationality and the Precursors of Mancini,' by F. S. Nitti.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 6. 1888. — Professor Maspero takes occasion here from the completion of H. Brugsch's 'Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter,' and of R. V. Lanzone's 'Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia,' to review at some length the general subject of Egyptian mythology, as presented in these works. It is but the first part of his review that appears in this number. Of Lanzone's 'Dictionary' as a dictionary, he has little to say which does not take the form of praise. It is, he thinks, remarkably free from errors of detail,

and the few he has noted are of so little importance that he does not name them, much less set himself to correct them. He speaks highly also of Brugsch's work, but complains of the inconsistent way in which he spells the names of certain Egyptian deities in the various sections of his book, and of his relegating all his references to texts, and explanatory and other notes, to the close of his volume. He combats, too, the veteran and learned Egyptologist's opinion, that the Egyptian religion underwent no fundamental change from the times of which we have the earliest monumental testimony, but remained substantially the same throughout all the centuries and changes of dynasty up to its final overthrow under the Emperor Theodosius. M. Maspero, though he once himself held this opinion, has long abandoned it, and has frequently in his writings during the last ten years endeavoured to refute it. He goes over much the same ground again here, and seeks to show that, though the ancient texts continued to be carefully copied, transmitted, and revered, the interpretations given to them by the later generations of priests and educated Egyptians varied considerably, as did also the ideas they entertained of the gods, whose ancient names they still continued to employ. He describes, then, the myths that bear upon the origin of things, and the cosmogony of the world.—M. C. Huart describes the rise, nature, and collapse of the reformatory religious movement in the bosom of Islam in Persia, from 1845 to 1853, inaugurated by Abd-el-Wahhâb, and known as 'Babism,' or 'the religion of Bab.'—M. L. Freer furnishes an interesting article on 'Le séjour des morts selon les Indiens et selon les Grecs.'—M. L. Horst continues his 'Études sur le Deuteronome,' and discusses here the vexed questions of the 'sources' of the book, and the date of its composition.—M. Pierre Paris gives a further instalment of his 'Bulletin' of the archaeological discoveries made in Greece in 1887-88, in so far as these bear on and illustrate the religion of the Greeks.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 1. 1889.—Professor Maspero's review of H. Brugsch's 'Religion and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians' and R. V. Lanson's 'Dictionary of Egyptian Mythology,' is continued and concluded in this number. He examines and notes the differences in the ancient legends and myths of the Egyptians as to the origin of the world's order, the gods themselves, the relations between them, the fate of the dead, etc., and shows where he agrees, and where he differs, from these writers on all these points.—M. Maurice Vernes discusses the question, 'When was the Bible composed?' It is a preliminary study which gives the results of

investigations made into the Old Testament books, and which results he promises to justify in a forthcoming volume. He regards the Bible as the product of post-exilian times—roughly speaking, from B.C. 400 up to B.C. 200. He does not dispute the use of more ancient sources, but the books as they are now, were all composed after the Restoration, and in the following order: The proto-Pentateuch, the Historic Books, the Prophets, the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch as it now is, the Hagiographa. They are all in their present form of Judaic origin.—M. P. Regnaud furnishes another of his Vedic Word-Studies, 'Étymologies Védiques.'—M. L. Sichler translates from Aphanassief some Russian legends—a contribution to Folk-Lore. The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' of both numbers are as usual very full, interesting, and useful, as are the summaries of the papers read before learned societies, and magazine articles bearing on the history of religions.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (January, February, March).—The interesting subject of Ethnography is well represented in the numbers before us. An important and instructive contribution to this section is M. G. Capus's 'Les Kafirs et le Kafiristan.' M. Capus, it may be remembered, was one of M. Bonvalot's companions in his journey of exploration along 'the roof of the world,' and he has, therefore, some right to take up the obscure subject. Two lengthy instalments in Nos. 1 and 8 have not yet exhausted what he has to say concerning it. In No. 5 there is a short account of the ethnographic exhibition held at the Geographical Society, where M. Charles Rabot allowed the public to visit the various collections which he had brought back from Greenland. In a more purely scientific paper, which is the reproduction of the opening lecture of his course of ethnographical mythology, M. A. Lefèvre treats of the development of myths and religions. Finally, M. Charles Rabot gives an interesting sketch of the Laplanders and their customs.—As contributions to Psychology, we find in the first place a paper on 'Common Fallacies.' It is a report of a lecture delivered by M. S. Exner at the Congress of German Naturalists, and appears, as we have noted, in the original German, as a contribution to the *Deutsche Rundschau*.—M. Ch. Richet, dealing with 'Genius and Folly,' replies to certain objections raised to the article written by him as a review of Professor Lombroso's work on the same subject. A most interesting paper, bearing an English signature, that of M. F. Galton, gives the result of a number of experiments and inquiries made by him with a view to determining the indications and effects of mental fatigue. M. Binet, whose name we have

often mentioned in connection with hypnotism, has a further paper on the same subject, 'Les Perceptions inconscientes de l'hypnotisme;' and M. Souriau examines the causes and the nature of the pleasure which motion affords us.—Under the heading 'Enseignement des Sciences,' we find only one paper, a description of the new galleries of the Paris Museum.—The kindred subject, 'Histoire des Sciences,' claims three contributions. In the first of them, M. Gustave Richelot treats of the tendencies of modern surgery. His main object is to show that, thanks, amongst other things, to the introduction of the antiseptic method, operations which were once considered dangerous may be readily undertaken, and that it is most unjust to condemn those who perform them, even when they are not absolutely necessary, but, as he calls them, 'operations de complaisance,' such as, for example, the altering the shape of a nose.—A matter of less general interest is treated by M. Gaston Tissandier, in his lecture, 'Science et Patrie;' but, on the other hand, M. Lanesan appeals to a wider circle in his essay, 'Buffon and Darwin.' So far only a first instalment has appeared.—A couple of scientific biographies have also to be noticed. The former of them is that of Henry Debray, an eminent French chemist who died recently; the latter of M. Silva, the late Professor of Analytical Chemistry at the Ecole Centrale.—In connection with public works, there are several interesting papers. One deals with the Panama Canal; another with the Eiffel tower; and a third with the building of the forthcoming Paris Exhibition.—For the amusement and instruction of mathematicians, we indicate a paper contained in No. 7, in which they will find a variety of ways of proving the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid.—Amongst other articles to be found under various rubrics we may further mention 'La Natalité en France,' 'Les Chemins de Fer,' 'Les Landes de Gascogne,' 'Le Cimetière Mérovingien d'Ableiges,' and 'Les Castors en Europe.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January, February, March).—In a fourth instalment to his 'Introduction to the Science of Philosophy,' M. Paul Janet deals with the relations between philosophy and theology. The practical conclusion at which he arrives is that it is unphilosophical to set theology aside, and that, on the contrary, a philosopher cannot but derive some benefit from the study of it. Very far from believing with Positivists that the human mind should shun theology as well as metaphysics, and limit itself to the positive sciences, he believes that the positive sciences should be followed by metaphysics, and metaphysics by theology, so that every sphere of human thought may be culti-

vated.—In an essay which runs through two numbers, M. Paulham considers the nature of the process of abstraction and of abstract ideas.—About the beginning of last October, a blind girl, thirteen years old, was sent from her home in Brittany to Paris, where she was to be admitted to the home for blind children. By some strange mistake, however, she was taken to the hospital for the blind, where, on examination, it was found that her blindness was owing to a congenital cataract. A successful operation restored, or rather gave her sight. The case was a particularly interesting one, not so much from the result of the operation as from the fact that it is now almost invariably performed when a child is quite young, and that consequently psychologists seldom meet with subjects able to give them information as to their first sensations on beholding exterior objects. M. Dunan at once availed himself of the rare opportunity thus afforded for carrying out a series of experiments in this direction. The result of these is here recorded in a paper which the writer puts forward, not as containing anything absolutely new, but rather as confirming previous observations.—In addition to what we have already mentioned, the February number contains a study by M. Ch. Lévêque, 'L'esthétique musicale en France—Psychologie du quatuor;' and a paper by M. Binet, 'Recherches sur les Altérations de la Conscience chez les hystériques.' In the third number M. Evellin heads the table of contents with a paper entitled, 'La pensée et le réel.' This is followed by an article in which M. Beaunis examines the analogy and the points of resemblance between physical and moral pain. Lastly, M. Regnaud treats of the phonetic evolution of language.—In each of the three numbers there are the usual analyses and summaries.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE (January, February, March).—Throughout the quarter there is an abundant supply of lighter literature. In addition to this, the January number contains an article of considerable length, which M. Alfred Leroux entitles 'Ce qu'on pense en France de l'Allemagne nouvelle.' Its contents may be gathered from the mere title; whilst the spirit in which it is written is sufficiently indicated by the writer's conclusion, which is to the effect that the new-born empire has assumed an essentially fragile and transitory form.—This is followed by a short sketch of Bernard Palissy.—Still shorter is the contribution headed 'Bianca Capello.' Two pages suffice to contain all that M. Pierre Gauthiez has to say about one of the most striking figures of the Middle Ages.—An article founded on Jules de Goncourt concludes a very readable number.—A light and pleasant bit of writing by M. Antony Valabrègue

brings a Parisian winter very vividly before the reader.—It is followed by a more substantial piece of work, dealing with the Old Testament subjects treated by the Florentine artists of the Renaissance period. The signature of M. Eugène Müntz vouches for the literary merit and critical excellence of the article.—Under the title, 'L'enfance et la jeunesse de Mignet,' a chapter from a forthcoming biography of the well-known French historian is given by M. Edouard Petit.—The last of the three numbers contains one article, in particular, which will be read with interest at the present time; it is a short sketch of Marie-Antoinette, by M. Felix Naquet.—A thoughtful paper, contributed by M. Eugène Veron, considers the importance of art in connection with civilisation.—Of the remaining contents, the most generally interesting will probably be found to be M. Mereu's sketch of the Roman Carnival.

L'ART (January, February, March).—The year opens with a number devoted almost exclusively to reviews of illustrated works. The only other contribution consists of a couple of pages on embroidery and lace. The middle of the month, however, brings a number of more general interest. It contains a very pleasantly written sketch of the career of Mlle. Camargo, a famous dancer of the last century. Two details not unworthy of mention are, first, that she was of noble lineage on both her father and her mother's side, and second, that it is to her that the introduction of short skirts is due.—This is followed by an account of Rubinstein's course of 'musical literature' at the Conservatoire of St. Petersburg.—The first of the two February parts opens with an article in which M. P. G. Molmenti communicates a discovery which he has made of certain documents referring to the painters Bellini. The documents in question are contracts for pictures to be painted by Jacopo and his two sons for the guild of St. Mark in Venice.—M. Frédéric Henriet follows with a sympathetic sketch of the life of the painter Eugène Lavielle, who died in the beginning of the present year.—Another similar sketch, but longer, more important, and illustrated with some excellent etchings of his works, is devoted to Troyon.—Two full page etchings, one 'The Fisherman's Family,' after Haquetti, and the other, Teniers's 'Fiddler,' are deserving of special mention.—In March reviews again bulk largely, and in one of the numbers they leave room for only one article, entitled, 'Etude sur un Manuscrit de la Bibliotheque Nationale,' and containing a notice of three miniature painters of the seventeenth century, Cotellet, Bedau, and Bonnet.—The last number for the quarter contains another obituary sketch, the

subject of it being the sculptor, Léon Longepied.—A very notable contribution, with which we shall conclude, is that in which M. Müntz gives an account of the famous competition between Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, the outcome of which was to be the 'War of Pisa' of the former, and the 'Battle of Anghiari' of the latter.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—Amongst the most important contributions in the numbers before us must be included M. Edmond Planchut's elaborate study, 'L'Égypte et l'Occupation Anglaise.' It has already run through two parts, and is continued in three further instalments. In the first of them, which bristles with columns of figures, the financial situation is considered, and the conclusion arrived at is that the agriculture of the country is rapidly declining. With regard to the works being carried on for the purpose of irrigation, it is declared that they must prove injurious unless supplemented by a complete system of drains, though this does not appear to be even contemplated. The English army of occupation is represented as a crushing and useless burthen; and, to sum up the long impeachment, the policy of England is condemned as contrary to the treaties to which she has given her signature.—Another article for which the first number is worth turning back to is M. Tchihatchef's interesting description of the great African desert. The author believes that the Sahara is destined to play a very important part in the civilization of Africa, thanks to the exceptional advantages which it possesses, and which have been refused to the other desert regions of the globe.—To classical readers we would also recommend the charming essay which M. Gaston Boissier devotes to the poet Prudentius. One of its attractions will be found to consist in the numerous quotations which the writer introduces, and which can scarcely fail to awaken interest in a poet who assuredly does not deserve the obscurity which has gathered about him.—The second of the February numbers is particularly rich in readable matter. In the first place it opens with an extract from the fifth volume of the Duc d'Aumale's *History of the Princes of Condé*, which, however, makes up a complete essay by itself, and which bears the title, 'Le Duc d'Anguien et les Dames.'—Following closely upon this, the Russian lady, who writes under the pseudonym of Arvède Barine, contributes an interesting article founded on the lately published *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*.—Then M. Emile Montégut brings an able and appreciative essay on William Collins.—Finally, M. Henry Gaidoz describes a visit to the Channel Islands.—In the num-

ber bearing the date of the 1st March there are two salient articles. The average reader will probably turn first to M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's interesting sketch of the career of that extraordinary man who at one time held in his hand the destinies of Russia, and who died in obscurity the other day at Nice.—Interesting, however, as are these glimpses of General Loris-Melikoff, M. Emile Sénart's learned essay, 'Un Roi de l'Inde au III^e Siècle avant notre Ere,' will be even more warmly appreciated, though perhaps by a smaller public. The monuments of Asoka are amongst the most curious and important remains of a forgotten civilization in India; and English scholars are still busied in discussing the text of certain of the inscriptions. M. Sénart gives a lucid account of the monuments—a series of inscribed rocks and a series of columns—which range like landmarks along the frontiers of a vast empire, embracing at least the whole of Northern India; describes the labours of Prinsep in deciphering and translating the 'edicts,' identifies the royal author of this wonderful literary achievement, and finally presents a comprehensive survey of his relations with the religious teachings of Buddha.—So far as that ingenious 'Breton magistrate and rural gentleman,' Noel du Fail, who died in 1591, is known to living mortals, it is as the author of a series of works which are usually classed with the witty and not wholly 'reportable' literature of the sixteenth century. His merit, however, as a keen and faithful delineator of rustic life has been fully recognised, and M. Henri Baudrillart here pushes still further his claims as a portrayer of the peasantry of France, and especially of his own north-western region.—The fiction of the various numbers is attractive; and amongst other articles which will repay reading are a study of Lamennais; 'L'Examen chimique des vins'; and some considerations, *a propos* of the congress which is to be held during the Paris Exhibition, on international arbitration and universal peace.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (Octobre-Décembre, 1888).—M. J. Halévy furnishes another of his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Here he deals with the three names given in the genealogical table of Gen. x., which in his previous papers he had omitted or rather left over for separate treatment. They are the names in vv. 3 and 4, Riphath 'son' of Gomer, and Elishah and Tarshish 'sons' of Javan. The geographical position of these is still a subject of controversy. The reading Riphath is well known to be doubtful, and no name at all similar to it is found in any list of places in the region indicated in Scripture that has yet been recovered. M. Halévy proposes to read Phirat instead of Riphath, and seeks

to justify this correction by, among other things, a passage from the Annals of Sargon, where in this very district mention is made of a Bit-Purutash or Bit-Puritish. The consonants of this Puritish answer, he says, to those of Phirat in Hebrew, with the exception of the final sibilant. He takes this latter to be an unimportant suffix which had been dropped in pronunciation by the Hebrews, as was frequently the case in the adoption of foreign words. Elishah he regards as indicating Laconia, and thinks the name had been given to the district from an important maritime town Elos mentioned in the inscriptions recently discovered in Cyprus. Tarshish he identifies with Crete, and supports his opinion, as against those who locate it in Tartessus in Spain, by some very weighty arguments. He thinks from analogy that Crete or the part of it referred to, bore that name from a town Tarra, or Tarsa (whence the ethnic name Tarsaios), on the south-east coast of the island.—M. J. Derenbourg gives us the first part of a work recently discovered of Abou Zachariah ben Bilem on Isaiah, and prefixes to it an account of the writer and his other works.—M. J. Lévi under 'Signes de danger et malheur,' deals with the Talmudic Legends about David in *Sanhedrin* 95a, and seeks to account for them and show their affinity with similar legends in other languages.—The other articles are, 'Les Juifs de Touraine;' 'La communauté des Juifs d'Athribis;' 'Sens et origine de la denomination *Sem Hamephorasch*;' 'Joseph Haccohen et les chroniqueurs juifs;' 'L'exégèse biblique en Espagne au XII. siècle;' and 'Le Maqré Dardeqé.'

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE. (January, February, March). While no single article in these numbers monopolises attention, there is little that will not repay perusal. The fiction is especially attractive, and we are glad to meet once more with a novelette, 'Chemin de fer et cimetière,' by that most delightful of story tellers, Björnsterne Björnson.—In a chapter of travel Dr. Châtelain gives us interesting glimpses of the 'Land of the Midnight Sun,' while M. Louis Léger conducts us through 'Unknown Bulgaria,' and M. E. Sayous describes 'The incidents and sights of a journey to Buda Pesth,' where last year he attended the annual session of the Hungarian Academy.—The ideas of Rabelais on 'The Question of Education' afford M. Paul Stapper material for a sober and judicious review of a subject which has attracted such brilliant writers as Guizot and Sainte-Beuve. He credits Rabelais less with originality than with the largeness, richness,

and correctness of his conception of education as a whole.—Amongst the papers of a solid and instructive character may be particularized, 'L'Exploitation des Voies ferrées en Amérique et en Europe,' 'La Législation Internationale du Travail, and 'le Relèvement de l'Agriculture.'—M. Veuglaire summarizes the recently published volume *L'Armée russe et ses Chefs en 1888*, and draws his own conclusion, into which, however, we need not enter here, more especially as lack of space prevents us from doing more than mention M. Edouard Rod's review of the literary movement in Italy, and M. Rios's companion paper on Spain.—As usual the gossip in the various *Chroniques* is varied, light, and exceedingly pleasant reading.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (Jan.) contains: 'In the Salon of Countess Diana,' an amusing bit of comedy, in which a poet recites his own verses, and other ridiculous fashionable diversions go on.—M. Buys has a long political article, 'The Holy Alliance,' a title suggested by the actual position of parties, on present prospects, especially as regards the Liberal party. Their most imminent danger in the stirring times that may be looked for is internal disruption; he, therefore, counsels moderation, and deplores the increasing withdrawal of men of position and intelligence from political life.—'Lessons from the Past' is a favourable review of a history of British Guiana, under Dutch and British rule, by Gen. Netscher. He frankly confesses that the former was all along a history of mismanagement, failure, and even disgrace, so inhuman was the treatment of the slaves. No worse policy is conceivable than to hand over a colony to be exploited by a company. The present backward condition of Surinam is contrasted with the prosperity of the neighbouring British colony.—Burgerdijk, who has already made Shakspeare's plays his own *par droit de conquête*, has now published a translation of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Sonnets*, and seems to have accomplished the difficult task felicitously.

DE GIDS (Feb., Mar).—'William III.: his relations with England,' is a masterly historical sketch of the complicated series of events which culminated in the Revolution Settlement. The character and policy of William, to which that of Charles is an admirable foil, is delineated with exhaustive research, and at the same time with vigour and picturesqueness.—A singularly repulsive and inartistic novelette traces the mental and moral development of 'Willem Norel' from boyhood, through his student career, to a settled position and marriage, which last seems to compensate fully for the doubts

and mental struggle of the first part of the story not in any other way resolved.—The same provoking inconsequence is felt in Vosmaer's last novel 'Initiated,' where the hero, Frank, and his wife, Sietske, are supposed to go through, on their marriage tour, a process of initiation into a sort of æsthetic religion, a very tiresome process carried on mostly in Italy, in the presence of works of art. Not only is the æstheticism quite incomprehensible as religion, it is even more so as a view of a possible art development. The novel was, however, left unfinished, and is not without fine passages and sentences, such as, 'Without gentleness and beauty the good is not good, nor the holy, holy.'—Constantin Huygens (1596-1687), the grave old Dutch poet, whose father was Secretary to William of Orange, and who was himself in the service of the States, has lately been revived in a book of selections, and by the republication of 'Hofwijck,' one of his principal poems. A sketch is given of him, and also of his very remarkable old mother, Christian, whose letters have been preserved.—'Metamorphoses of Hellenism,' by Was, treats of the relation of the modern to the ancient Greeks, and of what has been and may yet be accomplished in the world by Hellenism.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century. By F. LICHTENBERGER. Translated and Edited by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

In his scholarly preface to his excellent translation of Lichtenberger's useful work, Mr. Hastie dwells upon the change which has come over the feelings with which German Theology is regarded in England and Scotland, and seeks to justify it. On the whole, it may probably be termed an excellent piece of writing, and a necessary introduction to the work which follows, but, on the other hand, it may be said to betray just a little too much partiality for those whom it seeks to defend. That the influence of German Theology on that of England and Scotland has been great, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The effect of that influence is a different matter, and one about which there may be different opinions. Mr. Hastie's preface partakes very much of the nature of an eulogy. It is an open question, however, and one that Mr. Hastie does not attempt to answer, whether the influence of German Theological works here has not been to a larger extent repressive. It may be insular prejudice, but it seems to us that a calm survey of the subject would discover indications that for some time back the Theological thought of the country has been so thoroughly dominated by what German Theologians have said and done, that it has yielded itself almost implicitly to its guidance, and well nigh forgotten to assert its own freedom and existence. Authority is

good, and in matters Theological cannot be lightly ignored. There can be no doubt, also, that Germany has contributed much to the better understanding of Scripture, and to the development of all branches of Theological study; but we can have too much of Germany, just as we can have too much of anything else, and each nation is in duty bound to follow its own peculiar path in theological as well as in other studies, in order that out of the diversity there may arise that unity of knowledge to which the Apostle alludes. Nevertheless, to those who wish to become acquainted with the History of Theological Studies in Germany during the past century, and no earnest student of Theology can afford to be ignorant of it, Professor Lichtenberger's work, which Mr. Hastie has here translated and edited, is an excellent guide. It divides itself into parts—from Kant, or the beginning of the Kantian influence, to Strauss, and from Strauss to the present. The first division is prefaced by a brief, but remarkably lucid account of the philosophical systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Then follows an account of the old Rationalists and Supernaturalists, such as Wegscheider, Paulus, Planck, Bretschneider, and De Wette. But the central figure of the period is Schleiermacher, to whom and his disciples, Neander, Nitzsch, Twisten, Julius Müller, and Ullmann, the greater part of the division is devoted. The account of Schleiermacher is particularly full and attractive, many biographical details being given, and careful analyses of the celebrated *Discourses on Religion* and of the *Monologues*. Hengstenberg and the leaders of the speculative school, Daub and Marheineke, are treated at moderate length, and then follow two chapters on the classical literature of the period, in which the influence of Schiller, Goethe, and the lyrical writers on the theological thought of the time is analysed and appraised. Of Goethe, Professor Lichtenberger remarks: 'His genius awakens more admiration than sympathy. His songs draw tears from us, or they swell our heart with a sweet joy; but they never produce in us the aspiration towards a better country, where the source of our tears shall be dried, and where we shall hear more beautiful songs. The grace of the Gods, it has been said, is diffused over his works, and it communicates to them a peculiar magical charm, a certain calm and unalterable serenity. But how far is it from that peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which Goethe cannot give, for the simple reason that he does not himself possess it!' In the second division of the work the greatest prominence is given to Strauss, F. C. Baur, Rothe, and Bunsen. Ewald is dismissed in a few sentences, and the Catholic Theologians in a few pages. The number of names which occur in this division is, as need hardly be said, very great. Professor Lichtenberger appears to have been desirous of including those of all who have done anything whatever in theology, but we cannot help feeling that a wiser course would probably have been to have passed over the less important, and to have treated a number, who are here treated of but slightly, at greater length. This, however, must be said, that brief as Professor Lichtenberger's characterizations sometimes are, they are remarkably condensed and luminous, and bear evidence of the desire to be perfectly impartial. Mr. Hastie has performed his part well; and though the translation is based upon Professor Lichtenberger's *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne depuis le milieu du dix-huitième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, from the alterations and additions which have been made upon it, with the sanction and co-operation of the author, it is practically a new book.

Essays in Biblical Greek. By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D., &c.
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1889.

Compared with Hebrew the language of the Septuagint and the New Testament has received but slight attention. Each of the Universities has its Chair for Hebrew, but none for Hellenistic or Biblical Greek. Here and there a course of lectures has been given on the subject and one or two Grammars have been published, but no attempt has been made to deal with the language in the same exhaustive way that Hebrew scholars have dealt with the original language of the Old Testament Scriptures. Dr. Hatch's work is of an entirely tentative character and is designed, as he tells us, 'not so much to furnish a complete answer to the questions which it raises as to point out to students of sacred literature some of the rich fields which have not yet been adequately explored, and to offer suggestions for their exploration.' But tentative as it is, each essay in the volume is a scholarly and valuable contribution to the subject, and will be read by those who take an interest in the study of the New Testament Scriptures or of the Septuagint with considerable pleasure. The first essay deals with the value and use of the Septuagint. Here Dr. Hatch, while affirming the resemblances between Attic Greek and the language of the New Testament, takes occasion to point out the baselessness of the common assumption that the two are identical, and illustrates the differences between them—differences due chiefly to time and country—with such words as ἀδυνατεῖν, ἐπισκιάζειν, ἐργάζεσθαι, ζωοποιεῖν, κρίσις, ἀγαθοποιεῖν, διαλογισμὸς and ἐπίγνωσις. For New Testament exegesis the value of the Septuagint, he points out, is partly in the fact that it is more cognate in character to the New Testament than any other book, that much of it is proximate in time, and that it is of sufficient extent to afford a fair basis for comparison, but chiefly because it is a translation of which we possess the original. 'For the meaning of the great majority of its words and phrases,' he observes, 'we are not left solely to the inferences which may be made by comparing one passage with another in either the Septuagint itself or other monuments of Hellenistic Greek. We can refer to the passages of which they are translations, and in most cases frame inductions as to their meaning which are as certain as any philological induction can be.' The second essay consists of a number of short studies of the meaning of words in Biblical Greek, the meanings of such words as ἀγγαρεύειν, ἀρετή, γλωσσόκομος, δεισιδαίμων, διάβολος, διαθήκη, δίκαιος, ἐτοιμάζειν, θρησκεία, μυστήριον, παραβολή, πένης and πτωχός being traced through classical and post-classical Greek, in the LXX and the New Testament, and occasionally in Philo and some of the sub-Apostolic writers. But probably the most important of the essays from an exegetical point of view is the third, which is devoted to an examination of a number of the psychological terms which occur in Biblical Greek. Here Dr. Hatch travels over a wide field and gives the history of such words as καρδιά, πνεῦμα, ψυχή, διάνοια, σῶμα, σὰρξ, ψυχικός, and νόυς as found in the LXX, the Hexapla and Philo; the conclusion at which he arrives being that the fine distinctions which are sometimes drawn between the use of psychological terms in New Testament exegesis are not supported by their use in contemporary Greek. The remaining essays are devoted to the quotations made from the LXX by Philo and early Christian writers, to Origen's revision of the Septuagint text of the book of Job, and to the text of Ecclesiastius. It is to be hoped that the essays Dr. Hatch has here published are but the promise of a larger and more complete work. They do indeed open up a wide and rich field for research and few are so well qualified to work it with success as their author. An index to the various passages of Scripture, from which the words illustrated are taken, is added to the volume and is of great service. We trust, however, that subsequent editions will contain an index of the words themselves.

Physical Realism: being an Analytical Philosophy from the Physical Objects of Science to the Physical Data of Sense.
By THOMAS CASE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1888.

Back to Aristotle—not, however, in doctrine, but in method. That seems to be the teaching of Mr. Case, and the present work is a contribution towards shewing us how it may be done. Modern philosophy, it would appear, is all wrong, and ever has been. Since the days of Descartes, in beginning with the subject and working outwards to the object. The correct way is to begin with the object—but it must be the physical object of science; and then the result will be found to be entirely different, and far more satisfactory. What then is the physical object of science? Obviously, it is not the physical object of sense, as commonly understood. For, in the first place, science deals with invisible corpuscles, with imperceptible molecules and their motions: its objects, therefore, are insensible and ‘inconceivable’ (unimaginable?). Yet, in the next place, they are emphatically the real and emphatically the *known*. ‘Natural philosophy is not a sham. One or other, or many, of its propositions, may be untrue. But its whole fabric of the physical, but insensible, world which causes the image of it to arise in us, cannot be an invention. There is a thing beyond sense, a reality beyond phenomena, not only actual in nature, but known to science. There is a thing real and known which is not a sensible phenomenon, because such things as imperceptible particles are known really to exist, though they are incapable of becoming sensible. There are attributes real and known which belong to this thing, but are not sensations or sensible phenomena, because such attributes as the imperceptible motions of imperceptible particles are known really to take place, although they are not capable of becoming sensible. Finally, these real things by these real attributes are real and known causes of human sensations because the imperceptible motions of the imperceptible are known really to cause sensations of light and other sensations in men, although the latent process, by which an imperceptible motion such as the undulation of æther produces sensible light, is totally beyond the reach of sense, which perceives not the undulation but the sensible result. Thus real things and real attributes transcending yet really causing sensations are, in some way or other, known to the natural philosopher.’ But surely there is such a thing as the sensible? Yes, certainly; and nothing is sensible except what has been impressed on the body, and in the body on the nervous system, of a sentient being. It has two characteristics—(1) it is internal, being within the nervous system, and (2) it is physical: and this gives us the bond of connexion between it and the insensible. And if we ask, how can the sensible object be at once physical and internal? ‘I answer, it is the nervous system itself sensibly affected. The hot felt is the tactile nerves heated, the white seen is the optic nerves so coloured. . . . From such sensible data, internal, as science requires, and physical, as logic requires, man infers physical objects in the external world by parity of reasoning.’ Here, then, is the Physical Realism which Mr. Case presents to us. It may be expressed in two propositions: ‘There are physical objects of science in the external world; therefore there are, as data to infer them, physical objects of sense in the internal nervous system’; and it claims to be entirely opposed to psychological idealism in all its forms, and it refuses also to countenance Natural Realism or the Intuitive theory of Hamilton and the Scottish School. What then are we to say of it? We can honestly say, in the first place, that, as put by the author himself, it wears a very striking appearance, and, when taken in connexion with his vigorous criticisms of Descartes, Locke, Berkeley,

Hume, and Kant, it is exceedingly plausible. But, in the next place, we must equally confess that, on near inspection, it fails to satisfy. Obviously, much depends on the word 'known': and when it is said that the objects of science should be our starting-point because the physical corpuscles are eminently the known, we can only shake our heads, remembering that there are such things as the states of our own minds and that these are facts, while the molecules of science are only hypotheses. Again, 'physical' is a leading term, and yet it is very ambiguous. Finally, the 'reality beyond phenomena,' as given by the physicist, is 'no noumenon,' and the problem of philosophy remains precisely where it was. The truth is that the incompatibility between the physicist's view and the philosopher's, on which the theory reposes, is more than doubtful, and the idealist is still left with his withers unwrung.

Social Progress. An Essay. By D. GREENLEAF THOMPSON.
London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1889.

This thoughtful and instructive volume is a sequel to three works already published by the same author, and carries another stage towards completion the exposition of a philosophical system—a Theory of Knowledge and of Being, as he calls it—which has been for some years in progress, and which the author has been gradually submitting to the public. His exposition began in 1884 with *A System of Psychology*, in two volumes. Then came in 1886 *The Problem of Evil*, and last year was issued *The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind*. It is easy to see the logical connection of all these four works from the titles they bear; and Mr. Thompson now informs us in a very interesting, because chiefly biographical, preface to *Social Progress*, that the work before us is shortly to be followed by two others, one treating of the *Ethics of Sex Relations*, and the other of the *Fundamental Rights of Man*. In the present volume, which he informs us is only an introduction to the last named, he discusses first the conditions of Social Progress, and then the means of promoting it. In his treatment of both he carefully considers the multifarious idiosyncracies and interests of the individual, as well as of the community, and endeavours to show within what limits individual liberty may, and ought to, be allowed to assert itself, so as to promote the development of each, and secure the peace and prosperity of the State. The difficulties in the way of duly restraining the selfish and cultivating the altruistic instincts or emotions, are dealt with in a very temperate and thoughtful fashion. The whole essay, indeed, is characterized by a wise moderation of expression and judicious balancing of the conflicting elements to be considered in dealing with all social problems, that must commend it to the approval of all but the extremists of the Radical and Conservative schools.

Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe d'après les écrivains de l'antiquité et les travaux des linguistes. Par H. D'ARBOIS JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Tome I. 2nd Ed. Paris: E. Thorin. 1889.

Leaving the traces and witnesses, often enigmatical and always dumb and inarticulate, which the early inhabitants of Europe have left behind them in the caves and dens of the earth, to be questioned and interpreted by archaeologists, M. D'Arbois Jubainville, in this remarkably learned and painstaking work, confines himself to the examination of such traces of their existence and history as are to be found imbedded in the languages of Europe and in the written records of the ancient world. The work is of considerable dimensions. The first volume, the only one before us,

runs out to over four hundred octavo pages, and besides numerous references to modern writers, presents us with a vast array of citations gathered from the wide fields of Greek and Roman literature, and designed to illustrate or support the statements the author has placed in his text. Such works are not written or compiled in a day, and the one M. D'Arbois Jubainville has now issued in its new and improved form, represents the labour of many years, though at first the fruit of learned leisure. Generally speaking, his researches may be said to have led him to the same conclusions as those reached by archaeologists as to the origin and character of the early inhabitants of Europe as it now exists, though, as might be expected from the character of the evidence he has to examine, he is able to follow the footsteps of the tribes and races he meets with more closely, and to distinguish between them more sharply than is permitted to the student of archaeology. The first of whom he finds traces in the writings of antiquity are the Cave men. These he finds referred to by Æschylus, Homer, and Hesiod, by Thucydides, Aristotle, Plato, and others, as the Cyclopes, in whom they recognised a race earlier and distinct from their own, and whom, along with Grimm, our author identifies with the ancestors of the Finns. In the chapter on the mythical island of Atlantis and the legendary origin of the Iberians, M. D'Arbois Jubainville enters upon the discussion of a more difficult and doubtful topic. His evidence is drawn from Plato, Theopompus, Marcellus, and Poseidonios. The principal question here, and one which appeals to the writers of antiquity can scarcely settle, is as to the value of the evidence. If it may be believed, however, the Iberians had their original home in a large island to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, from whence they invaded Europe, surprised the Cave men with a civilization higher than their own, took possession of their lands, and continued to spread East, North, and South, till they were met and driven back, and finally almost entirely absorbed by the advancing tides of a population entering Europe from the East. In passing, M. D'Arbois Jubainville does not omit to notice the brilliant conjecture, or mysterious prophecy of the tragedian Seneca as to the existence or discovery of vast regions of country beyond the ocean, and to name him a 'predecessor of Christopher Columbus.' Still following his authorities, M. D'Arbois Jubainville identifies the Iberians with the Sicane, the Cunetes, and the Tartessians, and traces them in Spain and Italy, in Gaul as far East as the Rhone, in the British Isles and along the northern shores of Africa, where they came in contact with the Egyptians. Their chief settlements, however, appear to have been in Spain, where they were split up into different tribes and known by different names, and where also, while attaining to their highest degree of civilization, they had to combat the Phœnicians on their southern sea-board, and to resist first the Ligures and afterwards the Gauls on the north. In their advances eastward they were met by the Pelasgi, who, as M. D'Arbois Jubainville shows, were identified by ancient writers with the Tursanes or Tursenes, Tyrrhenians, Teucri, Pæonians, Mysians, and Etruscans. Their first migration into Europe he places about the year 2,500 B.C., and in 1700 B.C. he finds them in possession of the South-east of Europe and scattered along the valley of the Danube. In Italy, according to Greek writers, they made their first appearance under the leadership of Oinotros and Peucetios as early as about the year 2000. A second immigration of them into the same country took place between 972 and 949 B.C., when they were known as Etruscans. The traces of this mysterious people in the literature of antiquity are closely followed by M. D'Arbois Jubainville, who from the numerous indications he meets with of them is able to give a tolerably full account of the development of their power and

its decadence. After the earlier, but contemporaneously with some of the later immigrations of the Pelasgic race, came the Egypto-Phœnician colonists. These M. D'Arbois Jubainville identifies with the Leleges. He assigns their immigrations to the period between the seventeenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and shows that they were settled not only in Spain, but also in the islands of the *Ægean Sea* and on the mainland of Greece. The notion that Europe was the cradle of the Indo-European races M. D'Arbois Jubainville sets aside as untenable, and adopts the generally received opinion that their original home was in the country to the North of Persia and Afghanistan. By the aid of Comparative Philology, in which, as need hardly be said, he is a master, M. D'Arbois Jubainville is able to sketch the degree of civilization to which the Indo-European races had attained while as yet their family was undivided, and before they had turned their faces westward, and having crossed the Urals and the Volga, had settled in the plains of Europe. The first of them to do this were, so far as historical evidence is concerned, the Ligures or Ligures, who are here identified with the Siculi. Arriving, about 2000 years before our era, like all the Indo-Europeans of Europe they cultivated cereals and were accustomed to use the plough; and like all the Indo-Europeans of Europe and Asia they were acquainted with bronze. After the Iberians and before the Celts they occupied Gaul; after the Iberians and before the Umbrians they were the masters of Italy, where they were known as the Siculi and Aborigines. But before tracing the history of these M. D'Arbois Jubainville turns aside to deal with another people who immigrated into Europe from Asia, viz., the Scythians, whom Herodotus speaks of as the Scolotes and Sarmatians. These are regarded by our author as of Iranian descent, and, following their own traditions, he places their first arrival in Europe about the year 1500 B.C. Here, however, it is utterly impossible to touch upon the many points of interest which M. D'Arbois Jubainville discusses. The reader will find something to attract him on every page. As already said the passages which M. D'Arbois Jubainville adduces from ancient authors in support of his statements are remarkably numerous. He examines them with skill and in the course of his investigations throws light upon many an obscure term, and upon many points of ancient geography. For the student of archæology not less than for the student of the ancient Roman and Greek writers, the work is extremely valuable. The second volume should be equally attractive and may be anticipated with pleasure.

Letters of David Hume to William Strahan. Now first Edited with Notes, etc. By G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

By preventing the dispersion of this valuable series of letters and securing its publication Lord Rosebery has rendered a signal service to the history of literature and laid men of letters under an obligation which they can scarcely fail to acknowledge with gratitude. Gratitude is also due to Dr. Birkbeck Hill for the manner in which he has edited the letters. It is perhaps not too much to say that a more competent editor could not have been found. The news that they had been placed in the hands of the Editor of Boswell was sufficient to raise our expectations and to assure us that the work would be done with skill; but we must frankly own that we were not prepared to see it done with the remarkable minuteness, and absolutely profuse yet well ordered information with which it is. Editing after this manner we had imagined was out of fashion, and it is with no small pleasure that we have found it is not. Strahan to whom the letters were addressed, was a Scotsman, born in Edinburgh, and a printer. On

the expiry of his apprenticeship he went up to London, carried on his trade with success, set up his carriage and entered Parliament. Among the works he published or had a hand in publishing were not only those of Hume, but those also of Gibbon, Johnson, Robertson, Adam Smith, Blackstone and Blair. He was on good and even intimate terms with all the most eminent men of letters of his day. According to Beattie he was 'eminently skilled in composition,' and Hume and Robertson availed themselves of his knowledge of English in the correction of their proofs. His services in this respect are more than once acknowledged by Hume in the letters now published. Of Hume himself the letters tell little that was not known before. They exhibit the violence of his feelings towards the English, his intense antipathy towards Chatham, his belief that the country was on the verge of bankruptcy, his expectations as to the result of the war with the American colonies, and his own moral cowardice, vanity, 'distempered and discontented thoughts,' and unmanly complaints of neglect. At the same time they show his hatred for 'ignoble ease,' his noble industry, and unwearied efforts to make his writings as perfect as possible. Here and there, too, are expressions of Hume's own feelings of satisfaction with his work. At the time these feelings were no doubt in a measure justified. They were backed up by the opinions of the most eminent men of the day. But readers of recent histories of England can scarcely refrain from a smile at Hume's claim to have written with perfect impartiality or at the hope he expressed at having put his account of the Stuart period beyond controversy. But to our way of thinking, the notes which Dr. Birkbeck Hill has added, and his whole work of editing, is quite as valuable as the letters themselves. 'In my notes,' he says, 'my aim has been not only to make every letter clear, but also to bring before my readers the thoughts and feelings of Hume's contemporaries in regard to the subjects which he discusses;' and adopting Hume's dictum that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for anything material to other books, he has not only sought out the passages which illustrate anything Hume discusses or alludes to, even in the most passing way, but he has also printed them, and made his volume as serviceable as a library, and, indeed, in connection with these letters more so. The extent to which some of the notes run is remarkable. For instance, Letter 36 occupies about two pages and a half of large type, but the notes to it cover no fewer than nineteen closely printed pages, and touch on a whole multitude of subjects,—from Hume's house in Edinburgh, his old claret, and his manner of living, to Wilkes' expulsion from the House of Commons, Lord Bute's influence with the King, and Chatham's reference to it in the House of Lords. In addition to Hume's Letters to Strahan, the volume contains several others, some of which are here printed for the first time. Hume's autobiography has been added, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill has written a short account of Strahan. A list of the chief events in Hume's life is given and a number of informing notes are supplied to the autobiography. A full index closes one of the most careful, elaborate, and admirable pieces of editing we have seen.

The Life of William Denny, Shipbuilder, Dumbarton. By
ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE. London: Hodder &
Stoughton. 1889.

'I read few biographies, and I never expected to write one,' is Professor Bruce's confession. He has managed to write a biography, however, which is not only readable, but also thoroughly attractive, enjoyable, and help-

ful. That that is due in a large measure to his own style and directness of expression may be taken for granted; but it is due in a still larger measure, we believe, to his subject. Mr. Denny was something more than a shipbuilder. He was a man of more than ordinary culture, of intellectual vigour, and of a large, generous, and beneficent nature. While devoting himself to his profession with an energy and intelligence which has made his name famous as a shipbuilder, he aimed at playing the part of a social reformer in the circle more immediately around him. And hence Professor Bruce has not merely to record his deeds as a master workman and his inventions and triumphs in naval architecture; he has to trace the history of Mr. Denny's intellectual and spiritual nature, and to say much in respect to his efforts, hopes, disappointments, and successes in doing good. All through, but especially in the second half, readers of the volume will find much to stimulate them, and much that calls for sober and earnest thought. Mr. Denny was not inexpert with his pen, and some of the passages he wrote, and which Professor Bruce has wisely printed, are among the freshest in the volume. Professor Bruce has evidently written the biography, unused as he is to this kind of writing, with the warmest sympathy, but not without discrimination. Here and there he betrays a desire to improve the occasion, but his thoughts are fresh and never tedious.

César Cui, Esquisse Critique. Par la CTSSE. DE MERCY-ARGENTAU. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1888.

M. César Cui, though a major-general in the Russian army, professor of fortifications in the three Military Academies of St. Petersburg, and the author of several works on the art of war, is practically speaking the founder of the new school of Russian music. In the volume before us, which is the result of prolonged study and enthusiastic though discriminating admiration, the Countess de Mercy-Argentau details her own introduction to his music, gives a sketch of his life, translates several of his critical papers, describes his efforts to cultivate the taste for national music, and analyses his principal works. Of these last we can say nothing. The most interesting aspect in which the work presents itself to us is as a history of the new musical movement in Russia. By birth M. C. Cui is partly French and partly Lithuanian, having been born at Wilna in 1835, where his father, Antoine Cui, a soldier in the French Army of Invasion of 1812, had settled after being wounded at Smolensk. His mother was the daughter of one of the lesser houses of the Lithuanian nobility. In sentiment and feeling, however, he is thoroughly Russian. His efforts in the direction of musical reform date back to the year 1863, since which he has laboured incessantly both as a critic and composer to create in St. Petersburg and throughout the Russian Empire an interest in the national music. For the extent to which he has succeeded, and for the method he has employed, we must refer the reader to the Countess de Mercy-Argentau's attractive pages. Taken in connection with other movements going on in Russia, this, of which M. C. Cui may be regarded as the leader, is of considerable importance, and has a large historical significance.

Blackie's Modern Cyclopædia of Useful Information. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A. LL.D. Vol. I.: A—BLA. London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie & Son. 1889.

Dr. Annandale, who has already proved himself a remarkably capable editor, has here taken in hand a work which, in its own way, promises to

be as useful as his *Imperial Dictionary*. His aim is to provide a book of reference which shall be at once handy in size, comprehensive in scope, moderate in price, and adapted to the wants of that numerous class of readers who, while taking an interest in many subjects outside their own special pursuits, have not the time to undertake an extensive course of reading, or even to master the more elaborate and often discursive articles to be met with in the larger and more expensive cyclopedias. So far as the present volume is concerned, we can only say he has succeeded admirably. The articles, as far as we have examined them, are short, full of matter, clearly written, and accurate. Special attention is given to such topics or subjects as pertain to the present day and the modern world ; but such as belong to the past are by no means neglected. There are excellent articles, though of course condensed, yet always well informed, under such titles as Alexander, Alcuin, Æschylus, Achæans, Abelard, Alexandrian Library, Alexandrian School, Assyria, Babylon, Babylonia, Barbour (John), Bard, and many others. The geographical, biographical, and legal articles are specially well done. The same may also be said of those dealing with birds, fishes, and animals. Numerous illustrations are scattered through the volume, and altogether the work bears the promise of being in every way useful and acceptable to those for whom it is designed.

Essays by the late Mark Pattison, sometime Rector of Lincoln College. Collected and Arranged by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1889.

The late Rector of Lincoln was not a voluminous writer ; but what he did write, he wrote well. The Essays which Mr. Nettleship has here placed together and edited with excellent skill, were worth issuing in a permanent form. They are clear, sparkling, and scholarly. The field they cover is wide, and each of the essays bears ample evidence of careful thought and extensive reading. Of the author's theological position we have here no call to speak. It is well known. Of the twenty essays which the volumes contain, only five deal with theological subjects, the best known of which is the Essay on the 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750,' originally contributed to the once famous *Essays and Reviews*. More attractive to the general reader are the more valuable biographical and historical essays, and the fragment of a Life of Joseph Scaliger. It is in these that the late Rector is seen at his best. The Essays on the Stephenses, Muretus, Joseph Scaliger, Huet and Wolf, which form the bulk of the first volume, are excellent. In the Essay on Gregory of Tours, Dr. Pattison shows his dislike for the pictorial style of writing history, and by his account of the trial of Prætextatus, brings out into strong relief the ecclesiastical condition of Europe in the Sixth Century. In the second volume, besides the papers dealing with religious thought, both in England and in Germany, we have the philippic against Warburton, and an article on Calvin. The tone of the latter may be gathered from the following sentences : 'It is necessary to dwell on the services rendered by Calvin to human liberty, for his sins against it were of the deepest dye.' . . . 'The punishment of Servetus was a stroke of policy. Calvin gained in character with his contemporaries by it. He had justified his faith by his acts, and not left the Church of Rome the sole glory of taking vengeance on the enemies of Christ. All the Protestants approved ; Melancthon emphatically so. Calvin never repented it. Greatly as the Calvinistic Churches have served the cause of political liberty, they have contributed nothing to the progress of knowledge.'

The Works of William Shakespeare. Edited by HENRY IRVING and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Vol. V. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son. 1889.

Mr. F. A. Marshall and his collaborators are gradually fulfilling the promise indicated in their first volume, and producing one of the best, if not the most complete and useful, edition of Shakespeare which has yet appeared. The present volume contains five plays—viz., *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Julius Caesar*, *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Macbeth*. The last is admittedly out of its place, and has been inserted here in consequence of an accident by which the 'copy' of nearly four acts of *Hamlet*, which it was intended to place next after *Julius Caesar*, has been lost. The editing is on the same lines as that of the previous volumes, and equally full and conscientious. Mr. Symons' work on *Macbeth* deserves to be specially mentioned. His introduction to the play is excellent. *All's Well that Ends Well* is identified by Mr. Evans, who edits this play, with the 'Love's Labours Won' mentioned by Francis Meres. Mr. Wilson Verity refuses to see any profound or secret idea underlying *Troilus and Cressida*, and finds in the piece nothing more than a love story, or a study of love from a stand-point exactly the opposite of that from which it is studied in *Romeo and Juliet*. In the critical notes to each play an honest attempt is made to deal with the various difficulties presented by the text; but on some, as for instance on the difficult passage 'make ropes in such a scarre,' in *All's Well that Ends Well*, no light is thrown. Mr. Marshall's note to the phrase, 'the corrupt deputy scaled,' is unsatisfactory. 'To scale' certainly means to separate, but the obvious meaning here is 'weighed in the balance,' 'judged,' 'condemned.'

Cross Lights. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

It is a common practice of those who help to lade the magazines for their monthly voyage to try and rescue their share of the goods from the waters of oblivion; though the vessel sinks uncared for, it sometimes happens that the salvage is acceptable. But the author of these charming essays will run no such risk, and instead of trusting his wares to a ship which sooner or later goes down, he prefers to charter a little bark of his own. His bales have with a single exception never formed part of any previous cargo: they are of diverse kinds and all worth inspection. Amongst them one may draw special attention to the essay on 'The Study of Classical Archaeology,' which guards against the common mistake of making too many hard and fast generic distinctions between ancient and modern art, and of generalizing on the former from inadequate material, since it is obvious that recent discoveries have antiquated, and future discoveries may still antiquate, many of those 'principles' of Greek art which our forefathers looked upon as established to all time. In 'Wordsworth's Successor' few would perhaps recognise Mr. Browning, and yet a claim is put in on behalf of considering them both as didactic poets, men with a mission, who, allowing for different audiences and dissimilar problems, are 'instinct with the same spirit of kindly wisdom.' To readers North of the Tweed the papers on Macpherson's *Ossian* and Blair ought to prove attractive reading. In 'Logic and Language' the writer protests, in a paradoxical mood, against that over-regard for strict logic which makes grammar the supreme criterion of style; and finally, in 'Shakespeare on the Stage,' he points out, *pace* modern stage-managers and the play-going public, how absurd it is to sacrifice the true interests of the drama, which is and must always be pre-eminently ideal, to an overwhelming regard for

historical and archæological truth, often, as in Shakespeare's case, unattainable in the representation because unregarded in the composition. Essays treating of such various subjects so well, and viewed from a standpoint so uncommon, are not often brought within the compass of a single volume.

Sketches from a Tour through Holland and Germany. By J. P. MAHAFFY and L. E. ROGERS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Aalesund to Tetuan. A Journey. By C. R. CORNING. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1889.

Midnight Sunbeams. By EDWIN COOLIDGE KIMBALL. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1889.

These are three delightful works of travel, in any one of which the reader will find much to attract and entertain him. It is difficult to decide which is the most attractive; they are all admirably written, and each is an excellent specimen of the printer's art. Messrs. Mahaffy and Rogers' volume, however, is illustrated with a series of quaint exteriors and river scenes and landscapes, which give it an additional attraction, and in this respect it has the advantage over those along with which we have placed it. It is the record, we take it, of a holiday tour. Its authors appear to have set out in good spirits, and to have retained them throughout their journey. They have written in a very lively and entertaining mood, and the many sketches scattered through their pages show that they have had a quick eye for all that was quaint and beautiful around them. A better or more lively companion in the shape of a book for the same journey, whether by the fireside or along the road or canal, cannot be desired, than the one now before us.—Starting from London, Mr. Corning seems to have travelled hither and thither for a couple of years as fortune or caprice directed him. When he started he had no intention of visiting either Aalesund or Tetuan; he does not appear even to have known their names; but before his journey was finished, he had taken on his way Portsmouth, the Channel Islands, Normandy, Monaco, Genoa, Naples, Rome, Venice, Bergen, Abo, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin, Madrid, Toledo, Gibraltar, Cordova, and Seville. Some of the ground over which he travelled is well-beaten, other of it is not. But this makes little difference to Mr. Corning, or his book. He is always fresh, and always entertaining, even when what he has to communicate is not particularly new.—Mr. Kimball's travels were more circumscribed than those of his countryman. They were confined to the land of the Norseman—a country whose charms have only recently become widely known; and few will read his book without desiring to see the scenes he so graphically describes. For their guidance he has written a chapter containing a number of practical hints, and setting out the requirements and costs of the journey.

Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers. Vol. 13. Chatham: Mackay & Co. 1888. Reprint of Paper I. Filmer & Mason, Guildford.

In an article on the Water Circulation of Great Cities, in the number for April, 1886, we referred to the great requisite of preserving our wells and springs, as well as our brooks and rivers, from the dangerous contamination which is now rapidly on the increase. The subject has long

engaged the attention of the men of Science, to whom is entrusted the supervision of the Health of the Army; and the current number of the *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, contains a great deal of definite information on this important project. The last few years have witnessed a new departure in the theory of water purification. 'The basis of chemical purification,' according to Professor Franz Schwachhöfer, 'is that all matter held in solution by the water shall be converted into insoluble compounds, and then precipitated.' Supposing this desideratum to be effected, the insoluble precipitate so formed would be putrescible, so that the problem is only advanced by a single step. In point of fact, the precipitates formed are but partially insoluble. They have the characteristic of associating with themselves from eight to ten times their own weight of water, thus forming a foul and unmanageable semi-fluid known as 'sludge,' the disposal of which is a constant source of expense, of nuisance, and of danger. So universal is this difficulty, that Dr. A. Pfeiffer, of Wiesbaden, in the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege*, 1888, comes to the conclusion that, 'as no chemical treatment can comply with the requirements of modern science, it is useless to compel towns to adopt costly chemical systems of clarification,' and that 'it would be better, in the case of rivers of large volume, to discharge the said sewage into the stream, than to set up expensive works at the outfall for chemical systems of treatment.' It is depressing to find so late an outcome of German study to be adducible in support of British practice. It is the more to be regretted because few British rivers are of sufficient volume to bear out Professor Pfeiffer's most insalubrious recommendation. Not thus has the matter been dealt with at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. The view taken in the volume under notice, is that the true object of the chemist is, not to store up, but to destroy, putrescible matter as such, and that at the earliest moment. At Chichester barracks this has been done; and not only is the outflowing sewage rendered pure, according to analysis by the chemists of the War Office, but the brook into which it falls, which had been in so foul a state as to lead to legal proceedings, is stated to be now running clean water, and tenanted by aquatic animals. The process has been carried on at Chichester, from July, 1886, to the present time. It is now applied at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, and is at work in twenty English Counties. It is, perhaps, owing to the character and position of those who first adopted the method, that the ordinary class of advertisements have not made their appearance. But this will be far from discouraging to those who are aware of the extreme caution that characterises the officers of the Royal Engineers. A system so far sanctioned by official acceptance and recommendation, cannot fail to be worthy of the attention of all those who are in Sanitary trouble. The pretty little watering-place of Grange over Sands is at present the nearest point to the border in which the system can be seen in operation, as applied to the service of a town. The Household application of the process has been introduced into Scotland.

Faithful and Unfaithful, by Margaret Lee (Macmillan) is not only a powerful story, it is also a serious indictment against the laws of divorce in the United States, and a revelation painful and vivid of an unpleasant side of American life. Sides equally painful in social life may unquestionably be found without crossing the Atlantic, but here something is at least done in order to prevent the sore spreading or becoming chronic. After reading Mr. Bryce's chapter on the 'Pleasantness of American Society,' *Faithful and Unfaithful* rather grates on one's feelings. Yet it is written

with a purpose, and we must assume that the picture it contains is not overdrawn, but is a fair representation of what not unfrequently happens. But whether it is or not, as a piece of novel writing the book is admirably done. Mr. Travers is just one of those scoundrels who may be met with in most large cities, polished, plausible, attractive, yet thoroughly selfish and utterly heedless of others. His wife is trustful and with many admirable features in her character. Her intellectual development, however, is somewhat slow—perhaps too slow for an American. The other characters are equally well drawn. There is no lack of interest in the story; nor is there any carelessness in the writing. The workmanship of the volume indeed is excellent. The work deserves to be read both for its revelations and for its intrinsic merits.

The Land of Darkness (Macmillan), we are told, though forming no part of the personal story of the Little Pilgrim, is essential to the right understanding of the additional chapters which are here given of her experiences in the unseen. That is undoubtedly the case, and a very striking and powerful piece of imaginative writing it is. It describes what may be supposed to be the condition of the lost after death, their restlessness, their ceaseless but futile efforts to secure peace, their unutterable misery, and the unspeakable agony which the simple utterance of the name of God produces in them. There is something Dantesque about it. The anguish described, however, is more mental than physical. The chapters descriptive of the Little Pilgrim's further experience are beautiful, exquisitely so. The one great lesson her experience inculcate upon her is that the highest words in heaven are hope and love.

In *Cressy*, 2 vols. (Macmillan), Mr. Brete Harte returns to the scenes of old Californian life. The story falls in the time when the country was only partly settled and when its rough settlers did what seemed good in their own eyes or tried to do. Mr. Brete Harte does not write much, but what he has here written is done with elaborate care. *Cressy*, in fact, deserves to rank, if not as the best, certainly as one of the best of its author's longer stories. There is an abundance of attractiveness in it. It is brimful of quiet humour, and when closing the second volume one wonders whether the whole thing is not a huge joke, and whether the author is not quietly laughing at his readers at the surprise he has given them. There can be no doubt, however, as to the skill with which the story is managed. *Cressy* is no ordinary heroine and beneath her apparent simplicity hides a duplicity or skill, we scarcely know which to call it, which few will suspect.

Mr. Gissing is giving ample evidence of his claims to be regarded as an artist of much more than average ability. In *A Life's Morning* (Smith, Elder) the promise of *Demos* is sustained, and we have in it a study of human character and a plot both of which are admirably worked out. The three principal characters are sharply contrasted, and the life's morning of two of them, though opening with much trouble, breaks out at last into a clear sunshine, whose brightness is tempered by the sadness of painful memories. Beatrice, whose life's morning is just as troubled as that of Wilfrid and Emily, disappears somewhat unsatisfactorily. In fact, the winding up of the story is the one unsatisfactory thing about it. There is, of course, the inevitable marriage, but Beatrice vanishes, and one knows not whether into misery or into joy. A little more, too, might have been said in order to reconcile the apparent contradictions in her character.

Mrs. Oliphant's *Neighbours on the Green* (Macmillan) consists of three volumes of stories, with a slender thread of connection running through them. They are charmingly written, and each story has an interest of its

own. For our own part we much prefer them to the three volumed novel. It is difficult to pick out one story and say that it is better than the rest. All are equally good, while their variety is another proof of their author's fertility of invention.

For what the translator and publisher of *Tempted of the Devil* (Alex. Gardner), may not find themselves answerable as the result of thus bringing under the notice of the British public the possible uses of the Practical Kabbalah, it is impossible to say. Every incipient Donnelly will be up and doing, busy with Kabbalistic equations, magic quadrates, and mystical numbers, proving and disproving at his own sweet will, and able to predict the most ghastly fate for anyone profane enough to doubt his accuracy. As a piece of biography, the book is very charming, a vivid picture of German country life towards the end of the 18th century. For educated and studious readers its chief interest centres in the curious and graphic sketch it gives of a peculiar phase in the history of intellectual development—a sketch of the days when 'Werther' and 'Nathan der Weise' were new publications, when Lessing was drawing attention to Shakespeare, and meditating over his never accomplished Faust, when Voltaire reigned supreme, and the French Revolution was about to burst upon the nations, and create, in politics, literature, and social life, a new world for the wise to try their hand in developing. As such a sketch, *Tempted of the Devil* has deep and lasting interest, enhanced by the admirable way in which Miss Macdowal has done her work as a translator.

Under-Currents (Smith Elder), is a great improvement on any previous efforts of the author which have come under our notice, in that it is to a far less degree disfigured by that coarseness of tone, and vulgarity of style, which in general so fatally mar the work of a really clever writer. Apart from the shoe string scene, an episode in the genuine frolicsome barmaid style, the girls in the book conduct themselves with decency, and the story throughout is amusing enough. The return of Michael Sedley, and the resultant tragedy are very powerfully described, and leave upon one the impression that had the writer chosen to face the steep and toilsome road that leads to permanent reputation, she might have become something better than a showy clever writer of popular sensational stories.

The Last von Reckenburg (Alex. Gardner), amply merits the high praise bestowed upon it by the veteran novelist, Gustave Freytag. The picture of a woman of great force and nobility of character is drawn with much skill and power; especially masterly is the indication of extraordinary moral strength conveyed in the delineation of the calm composure, devoid of all heroic attitudinizing, with which she bears the burden she has lifted from the shoulders of her frailer companion. As a picture of German life, with its sharply defined line between the nobly born and the middle classes, and of the stormy political conditions of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the book is equally admirable; as remarkable for quiet humour as for vivid life-like portraiture.

Mr. Shorthouse has written a book and called it *The Countess Eve* (Macmillan). Her husband is Comte du Pie-Adam, and her garden is called Paradise. Thus the mystical tendency of the book is sufficiently indicated. He who, having kept the chambers of his soul pure, fresh, and wholly free from the unclean brood of Zola and the like, wishes there to enshrine a vision of exceeding loveliness, had better at once read this enchanting mystical romance. That is all we have to say about it. Critical analysis is a very

useful thing in its proper place, but not when it leads to an attempt to dissect a beautiful dream with a blunt carving knife.

The Aspern Papers (Macmillan), the first of the three stories contained in these two volumes, is a very happy effort in Mr. James' peculiar style; and shows to great advantage his marvellous power of manipulating the slenderest materials. The way in which the man, so to speak, sinks the biographer, actually in port, is delightful; though it is disappointing to lose in consequence all knowledge of what the papers contained. *Louisa Pallant* is too vague and incomplete to be anything save irritating. In *A Modern Warning* we find the American Eagle screeching anew, and disposed to wave aloft the Star Spangled Banner, while he dances on the faded worn-out Union Jack, and we feel inclined to say, 'My dear bird, do not screech so loud. Nobody denies the glories of the Great American Nation! and at any rate, be logical. If Great Britain is the home of a worn-out despised nation, be not so exuberantly exultant over every American girl who contrives to get herself chosen as a wife by a son of that degenerate race.' In truth, the excessive delight of our American cousins over these transactions seems a little uncomplimentary to their women, very much so to their men. But if we are to accept Agatha Grice as a fair representation of the sort of treasure an Englishman secures when he takes unto himself an American wife, why, we can only say the wrongs of his neglected country-women are amply avenged; and *The Modern Warning* is a very emphatic 'Englishmen beware' indeed!

Beyond Cloudland (Alex. Gardner), is unquestionably the work of a cultured and reverent mind. There are in it excellent passages and chapters of great interest. The attempt to deal with the invisible world, and to give imaginary sketches of what is going on there is not new; but so far as we know Miss Crawley-Boevey's idea—or at least the treatment of it in modern fiction is. It reminds us of the old, very old idea, prevalent among savages, that during sleep the soul leaves the body and takes to wandering. To this Miss Crawley-Boevey adds the idea that certain souls affect, or rather are compelled to affect, certain localities beyond the earth's atmosphere, say in the moon, or the planets Mars, Saturn and Mercury, and that other souls from which they have been estranged may follow, find and regain them. The idea is certainly capable of treatment in fiction, but the treatment it has here received is only partially successful. Miss Crawley-Boevey has written a number of excellent chapters, but here and there we can not resist the feeling that the chapters either need re-arrangement or that the connection between them is lost. Some of the characters are fairly well drawn, as e.g. Herbert Graham, Miss Crompton, Blanche Murray and her mother. Neville Rede is an admirable character, but his lectures are apt to be a little tiresome. For a certain class of minds we imagine the story will have not a few attractions.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, by Frederic Rendall, M.A. (Macmillan), consists of a translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes and an Appendix, which occupies more than half of the volume, devoted to the discussion of the Authorship, etc., of the Epistle and the Sacrificial language of the New Testament. Mr. Rendall's thoughts on this last topic throw considerable light on the text, and are deserving of close attention. The notes, critical and explanatory, have the merit of really grappling with the difficulties of the text, and, unless we are mistaken, will be found fresh, helpful and suggestive.

Galatians and *Ephesians* (Nisbet) are two more volumes of the Rev. J. S. Exell's *Biblical Illustrator*. Those who are in possession of the previous volumes of the series know how closely they are packed with materials and suggestions for sermon-making. *Galatians* and *Ephesians* are quite as replete with material. They are little short of marvels of compilation, and one cannot but admire the indefatigable industry every page betrays. The writers among whom he is most at home are those belonging to the modern Evangelical school. The writings of the Fathers might also be gleaned. The harvest to be gathered there is not less rich in suggestiveness.

The Light that Lighteth every Man (Macmillan) is a volume of sermons by the late Dean of Adelaide, the Rev. Alexander Russell, B.D. They are simple, earnest and devout. In the introduction which he has written for the volume, Dr. Plumptre has given a sketch of their author's life, pointing out among other things the excellent work he did in Australia. Mr. Russell was somewhat of a poet, and Dr. Plumptre has here given some specimens of his ability in that way.

Our Present Hope and our Future Home (Alex. Gardner) is apparently a series of sermons which the Rev. J. B. Sturrock, M.A., has broken up into short chapters for the convenience of his readers. His aim, he tells us, has been to 'provide profitable reading for the Christian fireside.' He touches upon many difficulties and failings in the religious life, and conveys many wise counsels in a style which is animated by a sincere desire to do good.

The tenth volume of *Present Day Tracts* (Religious Tract Society) contains six papers by Dr. Godet, the Rev. M. Kaufmann, and others, dealing with such subjects as the authenticity of the four principal Epistles of St. Paul, the moral difficulties of the Old Testament, the unity of the faith as a proof of the Divine origin and preservation of Christianity. M. Kaufmann, who has deservedly won for himself a high reputation as an authority on all matters connected with Socialism, here deals with it in its relation to Christianity. In another volume of the same series we have a number of tracts dealing with man in relation to the Bible and Christianity. The topics here specially discussed are among others the age and origin of man from a geological point of view, and also from the point of view of history. Professor Macalister devotes a paper to 'Man Physiological Considered,' and Sir W. Dawson, another to the 'Points of Contrast between Revelation and Natural Science.'

Dr. Marcus Dods' *Introduction to the New Testament* is a further addition to Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's 'Theological Educator.' It is a fairly successful attempt to deal with a large subject in a small compass. An attempt is made to state the various theories which have been, and are still, held respecting the many points which emerge in an introduction to the New Testament, but their adequate treatment is not attempted. As a handbook for students the book is insufficient, but it may serve as an introduction to the study of larger and more exhaustive works.

In Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' series we have the 'Life and Times of David,' by the Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A., whose books on *Samuel* and *Saul*, *Daniel* and *Abraham* in the same series we have already had occasion to notice.

Much as we may differ from Hume in his speculations, there is no denying their value and importance for the historical study of philosophy. His language is often perversely loose, but the ideas he set forth have had the effect of recasting European philosophy. Mr. Selby-Bigge's edition of the

Treatise of Human Nature (Clarendon Press) is an exact reprint of the first edition of the work. One misses anything in the shape of a critical introduction, but that is made up for by a remarkably elaborate index covering nearly seventy pages of small type, and containing a minute and exhaustive analysis of the whole work. Of the convenience of this for those who are desirous of getting rapidly at a clear view of Hume's system, or of informing themselves respecting his thoughts on any particular point involved in it, it is needless to speak. The treatise is printed in good clear type in a single volume, which contains the whole of the original appendices.

To the important series issued by Messrs. Longmans entitled 'Manuals of Catholic Philosophy,' the most recent additions are *The First Principles of Knowledge*, by the Rev. J. Rickaby, S.J., and Father R. F. Clarke's *Logic*. In the first an attempt has been made to state the sound, traditional principles of certitude and to bring them into constant contact with those which are antagonistic to them, and more especially with those of Hume and the pure empirics. Father Clarke, as need hardly be said, follows Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, and seeks to set aside the theories of Kant, Hegel, Sir William Hamilton and John Stuart Mill, and so to 'lead back the English student into the safe paths of the ancient wisdom.' To a large extent, therefore, as is the case with most books on this subject, the work is controversial.

Mr. Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius* (Clarendon Press), is an admirable introduction to his larger work on *Italy and Her Invaders*. It is by no means, however, a mere sketch of the contents of that work, or even of its first two volumes, though it touches upon many points discussed in them, but from the new matter it contains deserves to be regarded as almost independent contribution to the subject. It consists of seven lectures, one of which did not form part of the original course, and will be read with pleasure by those who have already had the privilege of reading Mr. Hodgkin's *opus magnum*.

Mr. Carter's *Summer Cruise on the Coast of New England* (Alex. Gardner) is a delightful book, reminding us strongly of Frank Buckland's *Curiosities of Natural History* and deserving a place beside those charming volumes. While entertaining, it is thoroughly instructive. Among the company is a Professor of Natural History who in all matters concerning marine Zoology seems to be perfectly omniscient, and has an abundance of information to convey. Those who wish to learn something about the denizens of the deep along the shores of New England may here learn it in the pleasantest of ways. Better or more entertaining companions than Mr. Carter and his fellow-voyagers cannot be desired.

Among Reprints and New Editions, the first place is undoubtedly due to Dr. Jessop's *Coming of the Friars* (Fisher Unwin), in which he has collected a number of those charming papers on the Mediæval life of England, which have already, and so justly, attracted so large an amount of attention in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*. Besides the paper which gives its name to the collection, we have in the volume 'Village Life in Norfolk Six Hundred Years Ago,' 'Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery,' 'The Black Death in East Anglia,' and 'The Building up of a University.' Criticism of these papers would be superfluous. They are admirable attempts to set the old life of the country vividly before the mind of the reader, and to awaken an interest in the national history.

Holiday Papers (Smith Elder) is a collection of papers written by the Rev. Harry Jones, as the title indicates, during his holidays. Readers of

Cornhill, *Good Words*, and other periodicals, have already met with them, and will be pleased to meet with them again in a permanent form. They are chatty and pleasant. Here and there they are amusing; at the same time they are instructive. Not the least entertaining among them is 'Some Clerical and College Reminiscences'; other good papers are 'Parochialia,' 'Sunshine,' 'Insect Homes,' 'Nervousness,' and 'Day-Dreams of Invention.' But dip into the volume where we may, there is sure to be something instructive and entertaining.

The two parts of Green's *Short History of the English People*, which Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have issued with maps and analyses, will be acceptable to teachers, and to those also who are interested in the study of English history. The first part comes down to the year 1272, and the second to 1540. The analyses are as full as may be, and cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance. Each part is further supplied with a chronological table, giving the events from year to year, and also with an ample index.

Culture and Anarchy (Smith, Elder), though called an Essay in Political and Social Criticism, is in reality the first of the late Matthew Arnold's religious writings. It has long been before the public, and is perhaps the most important of the series to which it belongs. It is here issued in a popular form, and to all appearances is an exact reprint of former editions.

As its title indicates, *Amusing Prose Chap-books* (Morison, Glasgow) is a collection of the prose popular literature chiefly of the last century. Its editor, Mr. R. H. Cunningham, has put together in it some twenty-five pieces, among which are such as the *Wise Men of Gotham*, *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Dick Whittington*, *Blue Beard*, *Robin Hood*, the *History of Dr. Faustus*, the *Famous History of Friar Bacon*, and a number of other tales, with which, before the days of cheap newspapers and cheap literature, the populace was wont to be entertained. They remind us of bygone times, and in their present form will be acceptable to many. In an editorial note, Mr. Cunningham takes the occasion to point out the popularity these books once enjoyed, the number of persons their production gave employment to, the way in which they were distributed, and the present scarcity of original editions.

In *Popular Lectures and Address* (Macmillan), Sir William Thomson has gathered together a number of lectures on that class of Scientific subjects he knows so well how to treat. The present volume is the first of three, and contains eleven principal pieces, with a number of Appendices, dealing chiefly with the constitution of matter. First we have the lecture on *Capillary Attraction*, delivered at the Royal Institution in January, 1886, which is followed by three Appendices. Then follows the addresses on 'Electrical of Measurement,' 'Maxwell's Sorting Demon,' 'The Size of Atoms,' 'The Six Gateways of Knowledge,' 'The Wave Theory of Light;' the paper on 'The Age of the Sun's Heat,' reprinted from *Macmillan*, and the lecture on the Sun's heat delivered before the Royal Institution in 1887. The second volume is to treat of subjects connected with Geology, the third with ocean and maritime affairs.

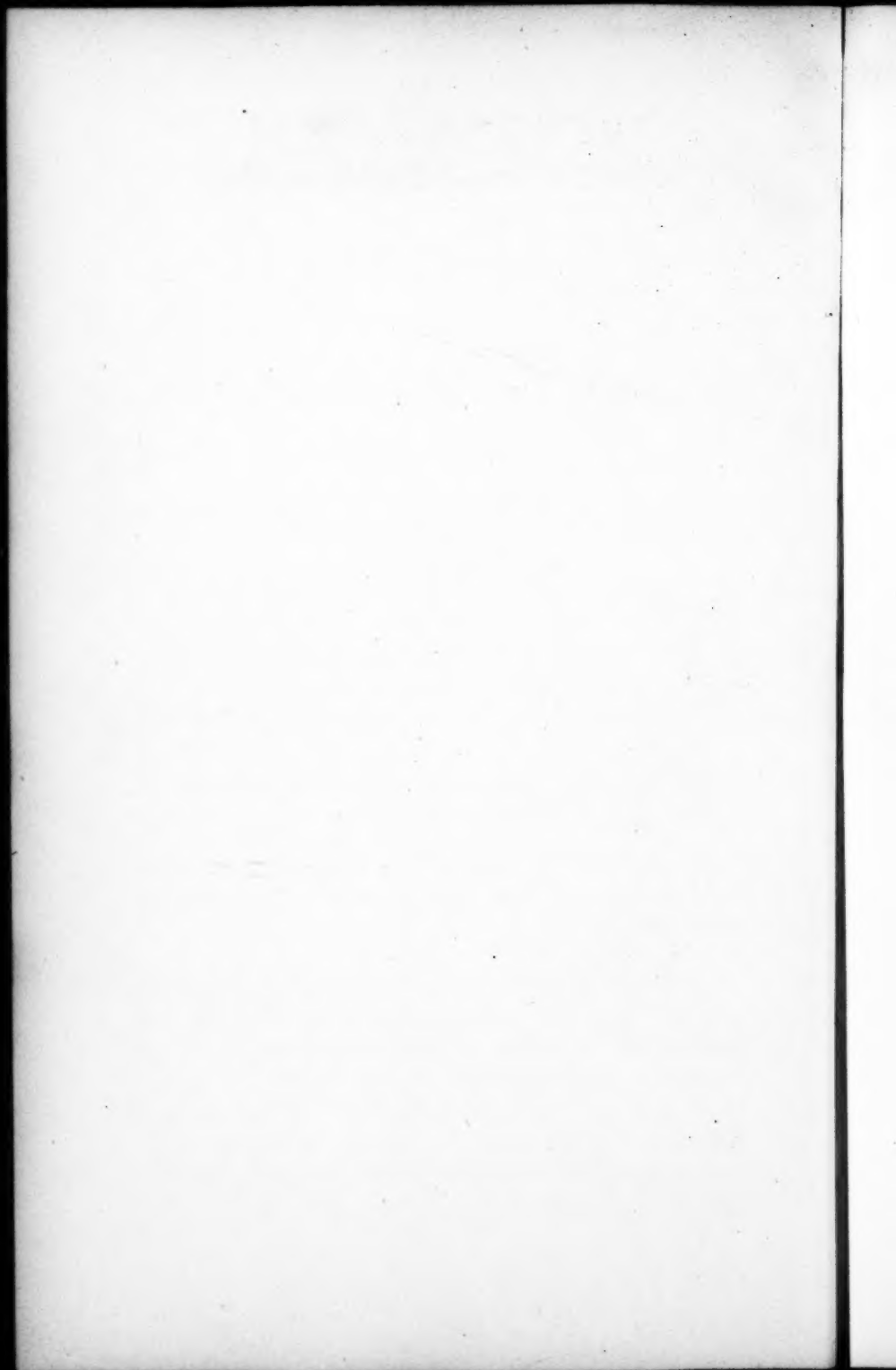
Of Mr. Leighton Jordan's *Standard of Value* (Longmans), it is sufficient to say that it has now reached its sixth edition,—a fact on which Mr. Jordan may be congratulated.

Of periodicals we have received, among others, *The Cornhill*, which still supplies excellent reading in the shape of literary and scientific papers and fiction both in longer and shorter stories; *The English Illustrated Magazine*,

which besides Professor Minto's *Mediation of Ralph Hardelet*, and a number of good readable papers on a variety of topics, has a charming series on *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, by Mr. W. O. Tristram, set off by many admirable and often amusing illustrations; *The Sunday at Home* and *Leisure Hour*, each of which are full of entertaining and instructive reading both for Sundays and week-days.

Limitations of space compel us simply to acknowledge the following: *Roman Mosaics*, by Rev. H. Macmillan, D.D. (Macmillan); *Footprints of the Revealer*, by Rev. W. Morison, D.D. (Nisbet); *Lux Benigna*; or, *History of the Orange St. Chapel*, by Rev. R. W. Fries (Whittingham); *Commercial Geography*, by Dr. C. Zehden (Blackie); *Deductive Logic*, by St. George Stock, M.A. (Longmans); *Leaves of Life*, by E. Nisbet (Longmans); *Janet Hamilton*, by Joseph Wright (R. & R. Clark); *Inorganic Chemistry*, by A. H. Sexton (Blackie); *St. John's Ward*, by Jane H. Jamieson (Oliphant); *St. Vedas*, by A. S. Swan (Oliphant); *The Winter's Tale*, by R. Deighton, B.A. (Macmillan); *Scott's Rokeby*, by M. Macmillan, B.A. (Macmillan); *Andrew Gillon: A Tale of the Covenanters*, by John Stratheak (Oliphant).

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